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CARDINAL RICHELIEU AS ABBOT OF CITEAUX

By

Louis J. Lekai*

Aware of the enormous amount of scholarship spent in exploring the life and statesmanship of one of the most intriguing personalities of French history, one may justly wonder what new can be said about Armand-Jean du Plessis Cardinal de Richelieu. The interested student may, indeed, find in recent biographies detailed accounts of the great cardinal's efforts to make his king absolute master of his country, and his attempts to raise France to the pinnacle of power in Europe. But, dazzled by the display of their hero's brilliant ability in matters of administration, generalship, and diplomacy, biographers rarely have saved sufficient space for an analysis of his ecclesiastical policy. Moreover, certain manifestations of his attitude toward individual religious orders, such as his relations with the Cistercian Order, never have been examined critically. Small, and thus far, unknown details of a relatively insignificant affair will certainly not prompt a radical reappraisal of Richelieu's position in the estimate of sound historical scholarship, but they may add a few lifelike traces to his well-known portrait.

There was scarcely any religious order in France which escaped Richelieu's attention, but the cardinal's interest was clearly conditioned by the wealth and power the order in question controlled. Thus the mendicants and the recently organized congregations, including even the Jesuits, felt the autocratic will of the mighty minister only occa-

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sionally, and in connection with specific issues of great political significance. On the other hand, Richelieu was faced with the continuous challenge of mastering permanently and completely the ancient monastic orders. The traditional feudal privileges of these orders were still virtually intact; they ruled over hundreds of monasteries in possession of the richest land of the country; and, since they were dominated by the French nobility, considerable political power enhanced their immense material wealth. To be sure, by the seventeenth century many an ancient abbey was safely in the hands of the king, who donated them freely to his courtiers as abbeys *in commendam*. But the largest monastic congregations, such as Cluny, Citeaux, and Prémontré, successfully defied royal control and, being exempt even from diocesan supervision, claimed the pope as their sole lord.

He who curtailed the autonomous status of the Huguenots and resolutely curbed the political role of the nobility, for the same reasons made persistent efforts to reduce the monastic orders to due subservience to the crown. When Richelieu rose to power in 1624, the opportunity to interfere with the affairs of some monastic orders was already at hand. At royal insistence, Pope Gregory XV had in 1622 appointed François Cardinal La Rochefoucauld apostolic visitor of the Benedictines, Cluniacs, Cistercians, and Augustinians, in order to strengthen their relaxed discipline. Since La Rochefoucauld's reform measures were often resented as injurious, a vigorous resistance was inevitable. During the long feud that followed, both La Rochefoucauld and the monks made frequent recourse to royal authority, the former to enforce the reform, the latter to annul it.

The recurrent invitations of royal intervention were fully exploited by Richelieu. In 1627, pretending that the old and irresolute Abbot of Cluny was unable to carry out the reform, Richelieu had himself elected as coadjutor to the abbot with the right of succession. Two years later the abbot conveniently resigned, and Richelieu became the absolute master of one of the largest and richest monastic congregations of Europe. There were, however, some smaller Benedictine groups independent of Cluny, such as the recently organized reform congregations of Saint-Vanne and Saint-Maur, both of great reputation and under excellent leadership. With the professed aim of facilitating the reform of Cluny, Richelieu soon began to press for the unification of these reformed congregations with Cluny, obviously entertaining the idea of assuming the title of generalissimo of all the

Benedictines in France. Despite mounting pressure, progress was slow and it was only in 1634 that Saint-Maur agreed to a short-lived union with Cluny. By the end of the same year, however, Richelieu scored another success: a group of Benedictine abbeys, known as the congregation of Chesal-Benoit, recognized him as their general administrator. Moreover, the year 1635 brought both the Cistercians and Premonstratensians under Richelieu's rule. The method used at Citeaux was similar to that applied at Cluny, but at Prémontré his election was not secured until the abbey was occupied by troops.[1]

At this point active French intervention in the Thirty Years' War permanently distracted the cardinal's major attention from further monastic conquest, and the concentration of all monastic orders under his leadership remained incomplete. Even so, the accomplishment was impressive. By the end of his administration, in addition to the above-mentioned congregations, Richelieu controlled some fifteen other rich monasteries as their commendatory abbot. He thus exercised authority over the majority of French monastic establishments.

What was the ultimate goal of Richelieu's undeniable drive for the control of monastic orders? The cardinal himself insisted on every possible occasion that his intervention was aimed exclusively at a genuine reform for the greater glory of God and of the Church.[2] Even some modern French authorities have accepted Richelieu's emphatic assurances at their face value, and contended that the cardinal had acted with sincere good will and unselfish zeal for religion.[3] Those, however, who share the traditional opinion that in Richelieu's complex personality statesmanship and patriotism preceded his devotion toward the Church, will always have ample reason to disagree. Reform,

[1] The use of the military on this occasion was no isolated incident. Richelieu called for three companies of the French and Swiss Guard in 1638 in order to enforce the reform of the Carmelites of Paris. Cf. Dom Paul Denis, *Le Cardinal de Richelieu et la réforme des monastères bénédictins* (Paris, 1913), p. 212. It is worth noting that Richelieu in his *Political Testament*, dealing with religious orders, spoke out for moderation and gravely warned the king against the excesses of overzealous reformers. Louis André (Ed.), *Testament politique du Cardinal de Richelieu* (Paris, 1947), pp. 200-201.

[2] E.g., M. Avenel, *Lettres, instructions diplomatiques et papiers d'état du Card. de Richelieu* (Paris, 1874), V, 767-768; or, André, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

[3] Cf., e.g., Gabriel Hanotaux and Le Duc de La Force, *Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu* (Paris, 1947), VI, 147-248. This relatively short chapter of the monumental work on Richelieu's ecclesiastical policy fully adopts the apologetic nature of the work of Dom Denis quoted above.

even if justifiable and sound, was merely a tool in the great minister's hands, in order to establish state control over the greatest and richest monastic orders; it was an integral part of his over-all plan for a tightly centralized government. Although the cardinal was bold enough to identify himself with the state, it will always be difficult to absolve him entirely from a mixture of selfish motives: his mastery over Benedictines, Cistercians, and Premonstratensians increased his fabulous personal revenue by more than a quarter of a million *livres* annually.[4]

The reform of Citeaux, like that of the Benedictines and Augustinians, was officially promoted by Cardinal La Rochefoucauld as apostolic visitor appointed to that charge in 1622. His spasmodic and ill-advised interventions, however, met such resistance that his commission expired in 1628 without tangible results. Upon the request of Louis XIII, and certainly not without the blessing of Richelieu, in 1632 a new papal brief granted to La Rochefoucauld three more years to complete his work as visitor of Citeaux. This time La Rochefoucauld was resolved to break the opposition of the official leadership of the order by removing them from their positions and replacing the deposed abbots with members of a small but well organized reformed group, already known for some twenty years as the Strict Observance or "abstinents," because they had returned to the abandoned rule of perpetual abstinence from meat. The leaders of the opposition, called Common Observance, the Abbot of Citeaux and the abbots of the four principal abbeys, the so-called proto-abbots, approached La Rochefoucauld with various compromise propositions, but the negotiations broke down in May, 1634, amid angry recriminations.[5]

As the issuance of the above radical reform measure proved to be inevitable, the abbots attempted to counteract the expected decree by the timely convocation of the general chapter, a representative legislative assembly of all abbots of the order, a body of great authority and reputation. The firm stand of the same assembly against the first reform measure of La Rochefoucauld in 1623 had been so successful that the use of the same tactics was expected to bring about similar results. The last session of the general chapter had been held in 1628; since the abbots were bound to convene every fourth year, the chapter

[4] Denis, *op. cit.*, p. 465.

[5] Cf. Louis J. Lekai, "Cardinal La Rochefoucauld and the Cistercian Reform," *American Benedictine Review*, VII (1956).

was, therefore, long overdue, and Citeaux had evidently the right and duty to call the session together at any time. Nevertheless, the opposition of La Rochefoucauld to such a move was anticipated. Citeaux, therefore, turned to Louis XIII with the request that he approve the convocation of the chapter before it was publicly announced. The abbots tried to keep the preparations secret, but through the royal court the news was leaked to Rome. There, Roberto Cardinal Ubaldini, in a letter addressed to La Rochefoucauld on July 15, 1634, warned him of Citeaux's intent, and, praising his planned reform, assured him of the support of the Holy See.[6]

La Rochefoucauld took the hint and issued his impending reform decree, entitled "Project of a Sentence," on July 27, probably the same day he had received Ubaldini's letter.[7] The new measures against the existing administration of the order were so harsh and far-reaching that this time La Rochefoucauld himself deemed it advisable to look for protection against the desperate self-defense of Citeaux. On August 14 he wrote a short personal note to Richelieu, asking his powerful intervention in behalf of the reform, and to give more weight to his plea, he enclosed Cardinal Ubaldini's message. The letter was carried to Richelieu by Abbot Etienne Maugier, the leader of the Strict Observance, and La Rochefoucauld's trusted advisor. This was probably the first official request for Richelieu's assistance in behalf of the reform; in his eyes it was undoubtedly a most welcome and long-anticipated opportunity.[8]

Richelieu, naturally, was open to the approaches of the other party, too, viz., Citeaux and the proto-abbots, fighting for survival. At this point all contemporary sources friendly toward the reform assert that the abbots turned to Richelieu for help entirely on their own initiative in the belief that the minister would save them from La Rochefoucauld. Some of the same sources even go so far as to insist that Richelieu was highly reluctant to meddle in the affair.[9] In view of the preceding review of Richelieu's monastic acquisitions, it is needless to oppose such naive contentions. Richelieu's ruthless tactics against a number

[6] Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris, MSS. 3247, fol. 254.

[7] The twelve days between the date of the letter and that of the "Project" was about the traveling time of mail from Rome to Paris.

[8] Archives des Affaires Etrangères, Paris. Mémoires et documents, vol. 810, fol. 392.

[9] E.g., François A. Gervaise, *Histoire générale de la réforme de l'ordre de Citeaux en France* (Avignon, 1746), I, 146.

of religious institutions were publicly known, and the Cistercian abbots must have been well aware that they could not expect their salvation from him. If, nevertheless, they did apply for the minister's protection, it was merely a momentary choice of the lesser evil, in the hope only of gaining time and, perhaps, of exploiting the old jealousy between the two cardinals. Even external pressure, applied to the abbots in order to induce them to approach the cardinal, would fit well into the pattern of Richelieu's intensified zeal for monastic "reform" in 1634. This was the same year when he enforced the union of Saint-Maur with Cluny and when he first reached out his hand toward Prémontré.

No sooner had La Rochefoucauld's "Project" been issued than on August 2, 1634, Citeaux sent a solemn protest against it to Rome, to the king, and, probably on the same day, an entreaty to Richelieu.[10] The appeal to the pope emphasized the illegal and abusive nature of the decree and requested the revocation of La Rochefoucauld's commission. The plea to the king charged that the convocation of the general chapter the preceding May had been prevented by La Rochefoucauld, although the chapter was the only competent forum within which to launch reforms. Louis XIII was implored to suspend the execution of the "Project" until the Holy See should adjudge the case. Meanwhile, the abbots declared themselves ready to work for their own self-reform in a new session of the chapter. The petition to Richelieu reminded him that he already possessed three abbeys of the order, Signy, Moreilles, and Valroy, and he was now invited to extend his protection over the whole order, offering him the flattering titles of "Chief and Generalissimo, Perpetual Administrator, Reformer, Restorer and Procurator of the whole order of Citeaux."[11]

To the appeal to Rome no decision could be expected in the near future, and its outcome was uncertain; Richelieu, therefore, felt free

[10] Cf. the text of the protest to Rome: Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ld[17] 24, pp. 37-41; to the king: Archives des Affaires Etrangères, Paris. France, Mém. et doc. vol. 810, fols. 332-336 (in two identical copies); to Richelieu: *ibid.*, fols. 337-338, and another identical copy, *ibid.*, fols. 341-342.

[11] Only a few days after the composition of this appeal on August 6, Abbé de Coursan, a confidential agent of Richelieu, conducted the negotiations for the unification of Cluny with Saint-Maur; he insisted that as to the head of the combined congregations, the titles of "Founder, Institutor, Reformer and Restorer" be offered to Richelieu. The coincidence of time and the similarity of the two sets of rather extravagant titles suggest that the same Abbé de Coursan might also have inspired the Cisterian appeal. Cf. Denis, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

to direct the whole affair with exclusive authority. What he wanted was not merely high-sounding titles, but power and perfect submission, and he knew how to obtain them. As his first move, he flashed a faint hope toward the desperate Citeaux, withholding formal royal approval of the "Project." Meanwhile, he showed willingness to investigate the abbots' charges against the reform through an extraordinary royal council, whose members were chosen for the occasion by himself, including high ecclesiastical and state officials, four reformed Benedictines and two Jesuits. After much delay the council opened its session on November 23, 1634. Having heard the testimony of some members of the Strict Observance, the council's verdict, as was expected, was generally in favor of La Rochefoucauld's "Project," and they insisted that the reform should be introduced at once, at least at the College of Saint Bernard, the general house of studies of the order in Paris.[12]

The decision was evidently planned to please the "abstinents," while keeping Citeaux in suspense regarding the measure and time of the practical execution of the reform. The abbots understood well the nature of the hidden bargain, but were still reluctant to pay the price of leniency. An audience with Richelieu at Monceaux seems to have been only of exploratory nature, but another meeting of the abbots with the cardinal at the great Cistercian abbey of Royaumont resulted in a formal settlement. There, on March 25, 1635, Richelieu accepted the role of being only the protector of the order, but he increased the pressure upon the abbots by forcing them to sign a reform declaration containing a few very painful items, but still far more acceptable than La Rochefoucauld's "Project."

The twelve paragraphs of these "Articles of Royaumont" provided for the visitation of Citeaux and the four principal abbeys of the order, La Ferté, Pontigny, Clairvaux, and Morimond, by reformed Benedictines appointed by Richelieu who would proceed in their duty "as friends and honorary confrères." That was to be followed by a national chapter of the French abbots to be held on October 1, 1635, with the participation of the Benedictines and the Strict Observance. This same chapter was to examine and approve the statutes of the "abstinents" and determine the place and time of their separate assemblies. At these assemblies the Strict Observance would be free to elect their own officials, but they would not be permitted to change their statutes once they were approved by the general chapter. The lawful

[12] Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ld[17] 22, pp. 12-14.

superiors of the order were authorized to visit the houses of the Strict Observance, but only if accompanied by members of the same observance. Such visitors were not to change regulations sanctioned by the general chapter. The abbeys of the Strict Observance *in commendam* were to be placed under the rule of conventual priors designated by the same observance. Any monastery was allowed to join the "abstinents" if two-thirds of its members should demand it. At the College of Saint Bernard both students and superiors were to follow the rule of perpetual abstinence. Citeaux and the four principal abbeys were declared houses of common novitiate for the whole order in France. The education of novices, however, was to be entrusted to the members of the Strict Observance, and novices were prohibited from making their profession unless they promised to keep the same observance for life. The chapter of October 1 was to consider the designation of five other houses as places of common novitiate, conveniently located throughout France, and directed by the Strict Observance. The document concluded with the assurance that all the above paragraphs would be discussed and approved on October 1, and the chapter's decisions would then be presented to Cardinal Richelieu for his final sanction.[13]

The "Articles of Royaumont," although similar in certain details to La Rochefoucauld's "Project," were, from the point of view of the Common Observance, preferable to the "Project," because the abbots were assured of retaining their traditional position, and the authority of the general chapter also remained intact. Nevertheless, since the exclusive right of survival was granted to the Strict Observance, it is hardly credible that the abbots' consent was given without intimidation. Their only consolation was the vain hope that their signature had saved them from further humiliation, at least until the following October. The abbots' feeling of security was reinforced by the subsequent royal recognition of Richelieu's protectorate over the order and the permission to hold the chapter as planned on October 1.[14] On June 1 the Abbot of Citeaux, Pierre Nivelle, dutifully announced the convocation of the national chapter to be held on the above date. He invited all French abbots "to report faithfully the status and condition of all our abbeys, to discuss the restitution and conservation of regular observance, the means to stabilize peace and unity among

[13] Cf. the text of the document, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris, MSS. 3247, fols. 307-308; and an identical copy of the same, *ibid.*, fols. 319-321.

[14] *Ibid.*, fol. 311, dated on May 6, 1635.

the discordant parties, and to examine certain articles which shall be proposed by some members of our order."[15]

The deal between Citeaux and Richelieu came as an unpleasant surprise to both Cardinal La Rochefoucauld and his faithful supporters, the Strict Observance. The old cardinal saw in the "Articles" the usurpation of his own legitimate authority, while the "abstinents" were very unwilling to settle for less than the unrestricted power assured to them in the "Project." Moreover, in the eyes of the reform, the "national chapter" was not only against tradition, but it involved the danger of losing even those privileges which were secured to them in Richelieu's "Articles." The prevision of the outcome of the chapter, where they expected to face at every turn a hostile majority, clearly proved to them the dishonesty of the contracting parties of Royaumont."[16]

Shortly after the chapter was officially announced La Rochefoucauld made a last effort to assert his position as the legitimate visitor of the order and to enforce his reform decree before the term of his commission expired. On July 6 he addressed a confidential letter to Richelieu's only intimate advisor, Father Joseph [François le Clerc du Tremblay], and begged the Capuchin to use his influence for the execution of the true reform of Citeaux. A lengthy justification of his "Project" followed the short note. Father Joseph's polite reply of July 25 assured the cardinal of his sympathy and full co-operation for the good cause.[17]

Richelieu proved to be an eager listener to the pleading of La Rochefoucauld. He at once seized the opportunity of demonstrating to Citeaux how helpless he was against the visitor without the title and power of the Abbot of Citeaux. He dispatched two members of his staff to La Rochefoucauld, Abbé de Cinq-Mars and Abbé Desclaux, his confessor, to discuss the confidential details of the subsequent procedure. La Rochefoucauld disclosed that his authorization as visitor would expire on September 10 and that consequently speedy action was vital. Richelieu obligingly promised to obtain for him the royal patent in approval of his reforms without delay, a favor so far withheld, and he encouraged La Rochefoucauld to install the Strict Observance at once at the College of Saint Bernard.[18]

[15] *Ibid.*, fols. 327-328, a printed copy.
[16] Cf. the long criticism of the "Articles," *ibid.*, fols. 323-326.
[17] *Ibid.*, fols. 330-336, contain all three documents.
[18] *Ibid.*, fols. 338-339; see also, Denis, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

The dramatic events of the following three months threw Citeaux into chaos which, however, carefully engineered by expert hands, led infallibly to the election of Richelieu as Abbot General of the Cistercian Order.

First of all, in order to stabilize the Strict Observance, which was to serve as the cornerstone of a reorganized order, La Rochefoucauld issued on August 20, 1635, a document entitled "Provisional Sentence." It provided for the complete independence of the Strict Observance under a vicar of their own ranks in the person of Abbot Maugier of La Charmoye with full control over the fifteen reformed monasteries which were listed by name. The Strict Observance was also authorized to incorporate any other monastery into their own congregation if half of the monks would agree to it. The College of Saint Bernard was granted to the "abstinents" for immediate possession. Citeaux was barred from any interference in the affairs of the Strict Observance, and in the last paragraph there was pronounced the excommunication of all those who should dare to oppose the above measures.[19] The promised royal patent for the execution of the "Project" was issued on September 2, and a similar document, dated the same day, empowered La Rochefoucauld to visit and reform the College of Saint Bernard.[20]

La Rochefoucauld had no time to waste. He immediately notified all authorities concerned about his impending action, and on September 6, 1635, he entered the College of Saint Bernard, followed by a large retinue and an armed escort. Such precautions proved to be unwarranted; he met only passive resistance. He not only was not received by anyone, but he found no superior in the house. Nevertheless, after some difficulties in finding keys and locating valuables, the new superiors were safely installed with John Jouaud, Abbot of Prières, as the head of the institution and Thomas Chenu, one of his monks, as procurator. The perplexed students were sternly warned to obey the new leadership and the cardinal departed with his majestic train.[21]

La Rochefoucauld's sudden reappearance on the scene and the violent seizure of the college took Citeaux by surprise and caused a

[19] Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MSS. 3247, fols. 344-345; the same was reprinted in a number of contemporary pamphlets. Cf. an officially printed copy, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, E 2854.

[20] Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MSS. 3247, fols. 370-373.

[21] *Ibid.*, fols. 346-350; and an identical copy, *ibid.*, fols. 360-364.

storm of consternation. It was suspected at once that La Rochefoucauld could not have acted without the connivance of Richelieu, a fact that reduced the "Articles of Royaumont" to the status of a worthless piece of paper. Officially, however, Citeaux refused to recognize the facts and pretended to ignore Richelieu's breach of faith. The preparations of the national chapter were completed and the French abbots convened as planned on October 1, despite the fact that after the royal approval of La Rochefoucauld's original reform, the convention evidently lost its significance; in fact, neither the abbots of the Strict Observance nor the Benedictines deemed it necessary to attend the sessions.

The chapter wrestled bravely with the insoluble questions through October 1-10. The hopeless atmosphere was soon darkened by rumors of enemy invasion, and for reasons of security the abbots left Citeaux for Dijon on October 3 where the negotiations were continued. They protested vigorously against La Rochefoucauld's new role, and especially against the seizure of the college, and declared that the whole procedure was null and void. Furthermore, excommunication was pronounced against all those who should recognize the illegal measures, and the chapter ordered the students of the college to resist their new superiors.[22] The chapter, still adhering to the fiction of Royaumont, addressed a very humble letter to Richelieu. In it the abbots denounced the behavior of the "abstinents," especially the occupation of the college, and in referring to the "Articles," they urged Richelieu to restore Citeaux's control over that institution. In the conclusion of their letter the abbots assured the minister of their absolute submission, whatever his decision might be.[23]

There was no immediate answer from Richelieu,[24] but his confidential agent, the ex-Cluniac Abbé de Coursan [Claude de Bruillart], was already on the scene, apparently in full charge of the subsequent negotiations.[25] He explained bluntly to all concerned that

[22] Josephus M. Canivez, *Statuta capitulorum generalium ordinis Cisterciensis* (Louvain, 1939), VII, 386-397.

[23] Archives des Affaires Etrangères, Paris. Mém. et doc., vol. 115, fols. 292-293.

[24] Among the La Rochefoucauld Papers, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MSS. 3247, fols. 377-378, there is the document of excommunication of the Abbot of Citeaux dated on October 25, 1635. Meanwhile, however, the election of Richelieu to this position became certain and the document was not published.

[25] The abbé explored the situation at Citeaux in August and submitted an optimistic report to his master predicting his easy success. He was also present

the election of Richelieu to the abbatial seat of Citeaux, and thus to general superior of all Cistercians, was the only means of saving the order from disintegration and of securing permanent dispensation from abstinence, an issue which by now had become more and more the subject of dispute. On the other hand, Richelieu's repudiation would result in the deliverance of Citeaux to the mercy of La Rochefoucauld and the "abstinents." The fact that the abbatial seat of Citeaux was not then vacant should not worry anyone: if Abbot Nivelle would oblige Richelieu by his voluntary resignation, he would be rewarded with the See of Luçon.

Since there was no other alternative, Abbot Nivelle declared in the conventual chapter his resignation in favor of Richelieu. The rest of the procedure was a mere formality. On November 19 the Abbey of Citeaux went through the farce of an election with considerable dignity. To prevent the occurrence of any unpleasant surprise, Henri II de Bourbon, Prince de Condé, the Governor of Burgundy, was instructed by Richelieu to assist at that solemn occasion together with the most distinguished members of the Burgundian *parlement*. The presiding prior of Citeaux, Jean Vienot, opened the convention with the eulogy of candidate Richelieu and nominated him as Abbot of Citeaux. The motion was seconded by Yves Sauvageot, Abbot of La Ferté, and dutifully supported by the three other proto-abbots. In the sequel Richelieu was elected by the unanimous vote of all present. Since, however, Richelieu was not a member of the order, the validity of his new title involved a special papal approval. For the same reason, the above procedure, by the terminology of canon law, was no "election" but rather a "postulation." The legal aspects of the critical events of November 19 soon became important items in the growing dissension between Rome and Paris, one of the few diplomatic engagements that Richelieu was unable to conclude victoriously. Nevertheless, at the moment their task having been accomplished, the cardinal's agents reported to him the new success in glowing phrases.[26]

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at the opening of the chapter on October 1, and subsequently carried the chapter's letter to Richelieu. Denis, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-190.

[26] There are many contemporary descriptions of the "election" in substantial agreement regarding the basic facts. E.g., Jacques Le Belin, *Lettre à monseigneur l'eminentissime cardinal duc de Riche-lieu et de Fronsac* (Dijon, 1635); cf. also the following pamphlets in Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris: Ld[17] 28; Ld[17] 30; cf. Denis, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-193.

The results of the election were formally presented to Richelieu on December 1 by the four proto-abbots who, after the cardinal's acceptance, at once vowed obedience to him. The king recognized Richelieu's new position in a patent dated December 22, and this was followed by Nivelle's installation as Bishop of Luçon. Richelieu himself was installed on January 15, 1636, at Citeaux by proxy, Froissart, a doctor of the Sorbonne, acting in his stead. The monks renewed their vows of obedience to the new abbot general, thus completing the legally prescribed formalities of a canonical election.[27]

Richelieu's apparent reconciliation with Citeaux filled the hearts of the "abstinents" with new anxiety. The Strict Observance already had obtained everything by the grace of La Rochefoucauld, at least in terms of promises. Would Richelieu fulfill them and make the "abstinents" masters of the order? To all appearances it was highly doubtful. In fact, the cautious leaders of the Strict Observance had no part in Richelieu's election, and so far they refrained from any public statement expressing their attitude concerning the new situation. The tension was suddenly relieved when, toward the end of January, 1636, Abbot Jean Jouaud, the superior of the reformed College of Saint Bernard, was unexpectedly summoned to Rueil, Richelieu's favorite residence near Paris. He found the cardinal in an exceptionally amiable and talkative mood. Richelieu explained to the amazed abbot in lengthy detail that his only ambition as abbot general was the true reform of the order, in which he was glad to follow La Rochefoucauld's footsteps. Indeed, when he accepted his election as Abbot of Citeaux, he did so only because he realized that, La Rochefoucauld's commission having expired, no one else could save the reform but himself. Of course, he continued, he always counted upon the loyal support of the Strict Observance in that great labor.[28]

Naturally enough, the "abstinents" greeted the news with rejoicing, and saw no reason to repudiate the cardinal's gratifying approach. At that moment the leaders of the reform could not foresee that their lasting alliance with the mighty minister, after a brief period of cheap success, would contribute to the ultimate failure of a movement which was worthy of a better fate. Up to that moment the Strict Observance enjoyed the good will of both the Holy See and the King of France. Truly, the official support was not very effective, and the slow but steady advancement of the reform was due to its spontaneous appeal

[27] Gervaise, *op. cit.*, pp. 164-165.

[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 166-170.

to the younger generation of monks. Richelieu's patronage abruptly and completely changed the nature and outlook of the whole movement. The reform was energetically enforced upon a reluctant majority by every means a powerful state could furnish. But the cost of success was exorbitant. The hatred of the abused and degraded majority for the domineering minority rose to an intensity never before experienced, while the subservience of the "abstinents" to Richelieu, himself in ever growing difficulties with the papacy, undermined the good standing of the Strict Observance in Rome.

The events following the conference at Rueil proved, indeed, that Richelieu had adopted La Rochefoucauld's "Project." On January 29, 1636, Abbot Maugier was re-appointed as the vicar of the reform with full jurisdiction, not only over the existing houses of the Strict Observance but "over other monasteries as well, which under the inspiration of divine grace would intend to embrace henceforward the same strict observance and where the majority and saner part of the religious would consent to it, or even in the absence of such majority."[29] The possession of the College of Saint Bernard by the Strict Observance was recognized; another patent, dated March 21, authorized the "abstinents" to hold conventions of their own in any convenient place or at any time and restricted the admission of novices to the houses of common novitiate. For the latter purpose Royaumont, Barbeau, Preuilly, and Vauluisant were designated; none of these had been reformed previously. While these monasteries were taken over by the Strict Observance, the former members of the communities were transferred elsewhere if they were not ready to join the "abstinents" voluntarily.[30]

During the last week of the succeeding July, Richelieu summoned to Paris a large number of abbots representing both the Strict and the Common Observance, obviously having in mind the thought that the proto-abbots had been sufficiently frightened to give up their futile resistance and to agree to a merger with the reform. Richelieu opened the first session in person and presented a written agenda for further deliberation. In the subsequent sessions the statutes of the Strict

[29] André J. Boulenger, "Histoire abrégée de la dernière réforme de l'ordre de Citeaux," Municipal Library of Langres (France), MSS. 75, p. 151.

[30] On the conference of Rueil and its immediate consequences, cf. besides the above quoted Gervaise, Boulenger, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-153, and Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ld[17] 43, pp. 152-156.

Observance were approved; but, although the proto-abbots were unable to resist the idea of common novitiates, they refused to consider any far-reaching reform. Instead, referring to the radically changed circumstances, they pleaded for more time to study the problems newly created and with this broke up the gathering.[31]

The time would hardly have been granted willingly by Richelieu, but the disastrous turn of the war then raging forced the minister to concentrate all his energies on the defense of the French frontiers. In the month of October an imperial army broke into Burgundy and occupied and sacked Citeaux, together with a number of other monasteries in the neighborhood. The monks fled, returning only after the retreat of the enemy. But Richelieu knew how to exploit even misfortunes. Shortly after the monks' return Froissart arrived at Citeaux, having been sent by Richelieu. He gravely warned the monks of worse dangers to come, and tried to persuade them to abandon Citeaux until peace and security should be restored. The monks agreed to the suggestion in principle, but they insisted that at least six religious must remain in order to continue the divine services. When Froissart changed his tone, mixing threats with generous promises, the monks became suspicious and flatly refused to leave. Finally, the frustrated agent produced a written document proclaiming the voluntary evacuation of Citeaux, and demanded the signature of all professed members of the monastery; otherwise, force was to be applied. Some signed, but others still refused. The desired end was achieved only when Jacques Le Belin, a prominent lawyer of Dijon and apparently Richelieu's financial administrator of the abbey, threatened to withhold all provisions from the monks.

The drastic action proved to be somewhat premature. For lack of suitable personnel, the Strict Observance was unable to make use of the opportunity and Citeaux remained virtually vacant during the first half of 1637. Finally, on July 30 Etienne Maugier signed a formal contract with Richelieu, promising to furnish the necessary personnel for the management of Citeaux which, after the installation of the monks, was to serve as a common novitiate for the whole order. After due preparations, on September 3, 1637, Charles Boucherat, Abbot of Pontigny, who acted as Richelieu's vicar for the Common Observance, installed some fifteen young monks at Citeaux, headed by the

[31] Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Cinq-Cents de Colbert, vol. 160, fols. 114-115; cf. also in the same library: Ld[17] 28, p. 35, and Ld[17] 32, p. 43.

Abbot of Pierres, Jean Drouet, as their prior. Ten of the former fifty members of Citeaux volunteered to co-operate with the new regime, but the remaining forty were dispersed to other houses. For the maintenance of the abbey and the support of the monks, Richelieu set aside from his abbatial revenues an annual grant of 12,000 *livres,* retaining 22,000 *livres* for himself.[32]

In subsequent years, a number of other monasteries were taken over by the Strict Observance in similar fashion. At the present stage of research it is impossible to give exact figures, but, estimated on the basis of contemporary pamphlets, the number of newly-acquired houses during Richelieu's administration was about twenty, in addition to the fifteen already possessed in 1635. The growth of reformed personnel was probably slower, although a considerable number of the "ancients" —as the members of the Common Observance were popularly called— eventually joined the reformed communities. Yet by the end of 1642 the total number of reformed monks was certainly no more than 400, constituting only about fifteen per cent of all Cistercians in France.

Very little is known concerning the technicalities of Richelieu's administration. Some sources[33] mention as the organ controlling the order's affairs a council made up of several high ranking ecclesiastics and civil officials, as well as doctors of the Sorbonne, reformed Benedictines, and two Cistercians. The few available documents, however, attest only to the activity of Abbot Jean Jouaud, who served as the secretary of the council. The same abbot became the virtual leader of the Strict Observance after the death of Abbot Maugier in 1637 and that of Octave Arnolfini, Abbot of Châtillon, in 1641. Thus both originators and indefatigable zealots of the reform were rewarded by Providence with timely departures at the height of their success.

Contemporary pamphleteers of the Strict Observance insisted that the reform was effected everywhere by peaceful means and without any opposition. Open resistance was certainly both hopeless and dangerous. There are indications, however, of sporadic disturbances against Richelieu's rule, reaching considerable proportions toward the end of his administration. According to the testimony of Abbot Jouaud, in some instances "the Cardinal's council and its ordinances were not only entirely disregarded, but despised and denounced everywhere."[34]

[32] Cf. the following pamphlets in Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris: Ld[17] 26, pp. 21-24; Ld[17] 28, pp. 36-37; Ld[17] 30, p. 36; Ld[17] 32, pp. 44-45.

[33] Gervaise, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-174.

[34] Archives des Affaires Etrangères, Paris, Mém. et doc., vol. 810, fol. 331.

In Citeaux and at the College of Saint Bernard the living under one roof of "ancients" and "abstinents" proved to be an ever increasing problem, while elsewhere the dissension broke out into open rebellion. It was for this reason that different versions of the adventurous story of a certain monk, Pierre Grumel by name, received much publicity. He was originally a member of Citeaux, but after the abbey had been awarded to the Strict Observance Grumel became engaged in the organization of militant resistance against the "abstinents." Although he was repeatedly captured and imprisoned by the Strict Observance, he managed to escape and, with the sympathetic support of some other monks and the villagers, he stormed and captured for a short while the reformed Abbey of Preuilly.[35]

When it became obvious that the Holy See would never recognize Richelieu as Abbot of Citeaux, passive resistance against his rule grew widespread among the members of the Common Observance. Large numbers of the monks who were forced out of the abbeys of their profession refused to stay in the monasteries to which they were assigned.[36] The leadership of an "underground" organization was skillfully directed by Abbot Claude Largentier of Clairvaux and, since the failing health of the cardinal was by now much in evidence, the outcast "ancients" remained on the alert to strike back at the moment of his death. As early as 1638, Largentier, despite the strict prohibition of Richelieu, resumed the reception of novices at Clairvaux and was stopped only temporarily by an energetic royal *lettre de cachet*.[37]

Richelieu well understood that for the effective control of the order the papal recognition of his position as abbot general was indispensable. He had not yet been installed at Citeaux when on January 1, 1636, he instructed the French ambassador at Rome, Count de Noailles, to obtain the necessary bulls of papal approval of his position as the general of the Cistercians and Premonstratensians.[38] Since his title as Abbot of Cluny had been acknowledged already by the Holy See, Richelieu did not expect much difficulty in obtaining the same for his recent acquisitions. Since 1629, however, the great minister's position had become strengthened at home, but it had deteriorated greatly abroad, and particularly in Rome. In 1629, Pope Urban VIII could not ignore Richelieu's merits in subduing the Huguenot revolt, but by 1636 the champion of the faith turned out to be an

[35] Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ld[17] 34.
[36] Denis, *op. cit.*, pp. 499-500.
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 199.
[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 193-194.

unscrupulous protagonist of Gallicanism. Moreover, the French intervention in the Thirty Years' War in behalf of the Protestant powers sharply collided with the fundamental interest of the papacy.

The cautious papal diplomacy had no intention of making matters worse by an outright refusal of Richelieu's claims regarding Citeaux and Prémontré, but at the same time it was only natural that Rome showed no eagerness to yield to the minister's demands. The case was referred to the Consistorial Congregation for thorough investigation and remained at that stage until the death of Richelieu. The embarrassing delay not only caused difficulties in the administration of the two orders but deeply affected the cardinal's pride and vanity. The latter consideration can serve as the only explanation why the case remained a major diplomatic issue between Paris and Rome for six years.

The ineffectual Noailles was soon recalled and his successor, Marshal François-Annibal d'Estrées, tried to please his master by pressing for a decision through every means of diplomacy. But the arrogant manners of d'Estrées scarcely improved Richelieu's chances to reach the desired end.[39] Meanwhile, an intermediate report of the Consistorial Congregation revealed seven weighty reasons why the cardinal could not be recognized legally as Abbot of Citeaux: besides various formal deficiencies in the process of "postulation," Richelieu was not a member of the order; he was already the supreme head of another order, viz., Cluny; Citeaux was not vacant at the time of his election; there was no sufficient proof that the "postulation" was justifiable; and, finally, Richelieu had acted as the legitimate head of the order even in the absence of papal approval.[40] Richelieu himself answered the charges and returned repeatedly to the same problem, both in his correspondence and his memoirs; but it was all in vain.

The cardinal was convinced that, behind the mere pretext of legal obstacles, Spanish influence and, in particular, the enmity of the powerful Secretary of State, Antonio Cardinal Barberini, the nephew

[39] In 1637 the sum of 100,000 *livres* was made available to d'Estrées with instructions to use it to induce the cardinals to support Richelieu. Cf. Avenel, *op. cit.*, VIII, 132.

[40] Archivum Vaticanum, Acta Congregationis Consistorialis, 1633-1640, fols. 360-363. Basically the same is available in the Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, Manoscritti, Fondo Brancacciana, I.A.l., fols. 1-14. This information was made available to the writer through the generous co-operation of his confrère, Polycarp Zakar, S.O.Cist., of Rome.

of Urban VIII, were to blame for his ultimate refusal. His suspicion was well founded but it was only a part of the grim reality. Protests from every corner of Europe against Richelieu's assumed role at Citeaux and Prémontré were received at the Holy See. As soon as he was notified about the alleged election, Emperor Ferdinand II, in a long letter addressed to Cardinal Barberini, expressed his strong objection against Richelieu's ruling over abbeys in Hapsburg territories.[41] Philip IV of Spain sent a circular to all Cistercian houses in his realm, instructing them not to recognize or to obey Richelieu as abbot general of the order. Consequently, the chapter of the congregation of Aragon and Navarre not only repudiated Richelieu but, using the issue as an excuse, severed, at least temporarily, every connection with Citeaux.[42] In Belgium the celebrated Cistercian canonist, Jean Caramuel Lobkowitz, published a widely read pamphlet, proving that Richelieu's election was illegal and that consequently he had neither spiritual jurisdiction over the order nor any right to the revenues of Citeaux.[43]

Although after years of futile efforts, Richelieu must have realized himself that the desired papal bulls would never be forthcoming, his frustration remained a thorn in his flesh until the very end. In 1642, before Mazarin's departure for Rome, in his written instructions there emerged once again the case of Citeaux. He sarcastically remarked that he, without the recognition of his position, achieved in a single day the same reform of the order toward which others had labored in vain for years; he was clearly referring to La Rochefoucauld's mission.[44] In fact, however, Richelieu proved to be scarcely more successful in reforming the order than his predecessor. His proud claim was flagrantly disproved in a matter of days following the fatal December 4, 1642, the date of his death.

Citeaux was soon recaptured by the Common Observance and a unanimous election placed the capable Claude Vaussin at the head of the order. The Strict Observance was slow to perceive and evaluate the significance of the loss of Richelieu. The reform continued to

[41] Archivum Vaticanum, *ibid.*, fols. 374-376v. This document refers directly to the Premonstratensians who were also under Richelieu's rule.

[42] Denis, *op. cit.*, pp. 478-480.

[43] This pamphlet was reprinted in Augustinus Sartorius, *Cistercium Bis-Tertium* (Vetero-Pragae, 1700), pp. 41-44. Cf. another contemporary pamphlet to the same effect: Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ld[17] 26.

[44] Quoted in Denis, *op. cit.*, p. 359.

resort to royal intervention during the critical years that followed, although such policy resulted in the further deterioration of their position in Rome. Vaussin, on the other hand, cleverly exploited his opponents' blunders while he managed to maintain cordial relationships with all authorities in Rome. After two decades of his persistent efforts the Strict Observance was compelled to renounce their claim to leadership and to accept with great reluctance the legal boundaries of an independent congregation, with about the same rights they already had enjoyed in 1625. Truly, during the forty years of open warfare, the numerical strength of the Strict Observance quadrupled, but the wounds inflicted or received healed very slowly. When the legal conflict was over, restoration of unity, or even peaceful co-operation, remained out of the question for a century. The movement toward reform was definitely arrested and, since it had lost most of its appeal, both observances had to face the crisis of the approaching French Revolution greatly weakened in spirit and diminished in numbers.

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THOREAU AND ROMAN CATHOLICISM

By

Lawrence Willson*

One would hardly expect to hear from Henry Thoreau, the descendant of Huguenots, or from any other member of the "Walden Pond Association," a tribute to the Roman Catholic Church; a cursory examination of his published writings does not, therefore, disappoint one's expectations. His religious position is stated, with characteristic irony, in a conversation with Joe Polis, the Indian guide on one of his excursions to Maine, after Polis had rebuked him for his manner of spending Sunday:

> He [Polis] stated that he was a Protestant, and asked me if I was. I did not at first know what to say, but I thought . . . I could answer with truth that I was.

The church as an institution, and as he knew it, he despised—partly because it was an institution, like the state and, therefore, it could not be trusted. It countenanced, e.g., that other "institution," slavery; it was "respectable" and timid; it feared the voice of honest prophecy. "If it were not for death and funerals," he said, "I think . . . the church would not stand longer."

In consequence he avoided the institution and its representatives, seeking his temple in the swamp and elsewhere in the natural world, alone, avoiding also the immediate vision of what he considered the prejudice and hypocrisy of the institutionalized faithful, whose reluctance to make their practice square with the lofty doctrine of their preachment disclosed their religion as "a mere superstition and frenzy." "Let no one think that I do not love the old ministers," he said—placing the accent on *old:*

> They were, probably, the best men of their generation, and they deserve that their biographies should fill the . . . town histories. If I could but hear the "glad tidings" of which they tell, and which, perchance they heard, I might write in a worthier strain than this.

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Thoreau's test for ministers and priests was his test for all men: they must prove the efficacy of their faith in *this* world. Such a one, e.g., had been Samuel Osborn, an Irishman, clergyman of an older day in Eastham on Cape Cod, who taught the people there to prepare and use peat, but who was unfrocked by an ecclesiastical council for his Arminianism. He was, said Thoreau, "fully justified . . . by his works in the peat meadow." For the most part, however, the clergymen of his own day and place were at best mere politicians and policemen of virtue. Sometimes they could not claim even so much dignity, for they, too, were the victims of the materialistic times—and of their congregations. "I once knew a good specimen of a Yankee priest," he wrote,

> —a man who . . . [was] as shrewd at a bargain and as shifty under all circumstances as any of his parishioners. . . . He very properly had his society completely under his thumb, and regulated not only their spiritual but temporal affairs. . . . He fatted a pig on the contributions of his neighbors which he collected himself in his own swill-pail. I have heard some of his parishioners congratulate themselves upon having got a man at last who could swap horses without being cheated. . . . He was a better man in all respects than any in his parish.[1]

But even the twelve apostles could not say much to a fisherman of Concord, for

> though they were fishers, too, [they] were of the solemn race of sea-fishers, and never trolled for pickerel on inland streams.

As for the Roman Catholic Church specifically, he wrote, in a letter of moral advice to his friend, Harrison Blake, this comment which merely affirms his basic faith in self-reliance:

> Have no idle disciplines like the Catholic Church and others; have only positive and fruitful ones. Do what you know you ought to do.

One of the few Roman Catholics whom he knew intimately was Alex Therien, the French-Canadian wood-chopper of Walden Pond; but he was for a few months in 1844 closely associated with Isaac Hecker, who roomed at the Thoreau house in Concord before returning to New York to be baptized in the Catholic faith and subsequently to become a priest. Hecker, indeed, cherished the illusion that he might convert Thoreau to Catholicism, and to that end he proposed in a let-

[1] Ms Am 278.5, quoted by permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

ter written on the day before his baptism that they take a trip to Europe to visit the ancient shrines there. Thoreau's response to the invitation was sympathetic to Hecker's religious intention; it also expressed again his own constant faith in the greater religion of nature:

> I remember you, as it were, with the whole Catholic Church at your skirts. And the other day, for a moment, I think I understood your relation to that body; but the thought was gone again in a twinkling, as when a dry leaf falls from its stem over our heads, but is instantly lost in the rustling mass at our feet.

Although Hecker's hope of converting Thoreau might well seem sanguine, it perhaps arose from the circumstance that his own conversion had been inspired by that of an older friend of them both, the distinguished and militant former Unitarian minister, Orestes A. Brownson. Thoreau had lived for six months or more with the Brownson family in 1835-1836 when he taught school in Canton, Massachusetts, and he had then been much influenced by Brownson's energetic personality and his utopian ideals of social and moral reform.

Thoreau's principal, and only extensive, observation of Roman Catholics and of the Church was made during his excursion to Quebec in 1850. And, making allowance for his militant Protestantism, his judgment was friendly. At the Church of Notre Dame in Montreal, he was at once impressed by the sight of his fellow travelers entering to kneel in prayer. The contrast with Protestant Concord was unavoidable:

> As if you were to catch some farmer's sons from Marlborough, come to cattle-show, silently kneeling in Concord meeting-house some Wednesday!

He found the atmosphere of the church one "which might be sacred to thought and religion, if one had any." Indeed, he went so far as to say, "I am not sure but this Catholic religion would be an admirable one if the priest were quite omitted."

His sense of admiration increased as he read the history of the early exploration of this continent, and as he traveled elsewhere occasionally beyond Concord. It was a solemn thought for him, e.g., when he was exploring Maine, to learn that in the wilderness "large wooden crosses, made of oak, still sound, were sometimes found . . . which were set up by the first Catholic missionaries who came through to the Kennebec."

The record of Thoreau's prodigious reading in the literature of Catholic America, inspired originally by his project to learn all that there was to learn about the aborigines, and developing from his attention to the French historians, whose accounts he considered more trustworthy than those of the English, began in 1851, one year after his excursion to Quebec. The charging-lists of the Harvard College Library show that on November 5, 1851, he withdrew Father Pierre F. X. Charlevoix's *Histoire et déscription générale de la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1744, 3 vols.). This is an important date in Thoreau's intellectual development, for all his notes taken during the succeeding decade are studded with references to the various chronicles of the fathers, both Récollet and Jesuit, whose missionary service in New France began as early as 1611.[2] Henceforth, he was properly scornful of the pretensions of the English, that the Plymouth Pilgrims were the "first" people who came to America in the interests of religion.

Very soon his favorite reading became the *Relations de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France,* reports sent back to France by the Jesuits and published annually, with few intervals, between 1632 and 1672. In the volumes of his Indian Notebooks[3] they are quoted more

[2] In his so-called "Canadian Notebook" Thoreau recorded many conflicting statements from the historians and chroniclers—Champlain, Captain John Smith, Belknap, Abiel Holmes, William Williamson, Hildreth—in an attempt to ascertain which group of missionaries arrived first, Récollets or Jesuits. He first accepted, on the authority of Charlevoix, the prior claim of the Jesuits. In Indian Notebook 7 he seemed to solve the question anew by quoting from *Harper's Magazine:* "The Recollet father LeCarron carried the gospel to the Hurons before the Jesuits—says Lord Elgin in a dispatch"; but, of course, this conclusion may apply only to the Hurons. In any event, in Indian Notebook 8 he is convinced of the priority of the Jesuits by reading in Father Gabriel Sagard-Théodat's four-volume *Histoire du Canada et voyages que les Frères Mineurs Recollects y ont faicts pour la conversion des infidelles* (Paris, 1636), that the first Récollets left France for Canada in 1615. Sagard was himself a Récollet, and his later date reassured Thoreau of the truthworthiness of the Jesuit Charlevoix.

[3] The Indian Notebooks are a collection of eleven manuscript volumes of notes, mostly extracts from books concerning the American Indians and other primitive peoples. (Hereafter the Notebooks are referred to by number, omitting the qualifying "Indian.") They are preserved in the Pierpont Morgan Library, as MA 596-MA 606, under the collective title "Extracts from Works, relating to the Indians." For descriptions and some commentary on them, cf. Albert Keiser, "Thoreau's Manuscripts on the Indians," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology,* XXVII (April, 1928), 183-199, and Jason A. Russell, "Thoreau: The Interpreter of the Real Indian," *Queen's Quarterly,* XXXV (August, 1927),

extensively than any other collection of writings: there are approximately 312 pages of notes drawn from them.[4] The only issues which he missed—or from which he drew no material—were the first one, Father Charles Lallemant's of 1626[5]; the anonymous issue of 1657-1658; and Father François Le Mercier's of 1665-1666.[6]

His interest quickly extended to irregular issues and later editions. At the end of Notebook 7 he made a note, e.g., to look at "Lettres Edifiants, a long series *like* the Jesuit Relations—but more modern—." At the end of Notebook 9 he observed, with a large "N B" on the margin, that he had looked at

> Jesuit Relations published at Quebec ap in 3 Vols. . . . A new book in Har[vard] Col[lege Library] Feb. 59—Saw Vol II—1642 to 1655.[7]

In Notebook 10 he wrote that he had, on June 21, 1858,[8] "Examined at Cambridge . . . the unbound added *Relations,*" including the *Récit des voyages . . . du . . . Jacques Marquette* (1673-1675) with *La continuation* by Claude Allouez, S.J., and Marquette's *Journal,* and the scattered later *Relations* of 1676-1677, Father Jacques Bigot's of 1684, and Father Jacques Gravier's of 1693-1694. Again, of the irregular issues, he missed only that of Father Claude Dablon, of 1673-1679.

Thoreau sought elsewhere for those *Relations* which were not in the Harvard Library; at least one, that of 1639, was obtained for him

37-48. The Canadian Notebook, MA 595, entitled "Extracts from Works, relating to Canada," is the first in the series of twelve manuscript volumes. I am indebted to the trustees of the Morgan Library for permission to quote from these works.

[4] Their nearest competitor in this respect is Henry R. Schoolcraft, whose various writings are quoted, according to the count of Keiser ("Thoreau's Manuscripts on the Indians," p. 189) for a total of 212 pages.

[5] Of this *Relation* he observed, in Notebook 10, in a comment on Father Chrétien Le Clercq's *Établissement de la foi* (Paris, 1691), which he was reading in John Gilmary Shea's translation, in B.F. French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana,* Part IV (Redfield, New York, 1852): "Le Clercq, or who ever the author is, expresses a good deal of skepticism with regard to many early works on Canada—the Rel. of 1626 among the rest—."

[6] Although he did not read Father Paul Le Jeune's *Brieve relation* of 1632, he read the abstract published in *Le Mercure Français* (1632) and copied a few sentences from it into Notebook 6.

[7] *Relations des Jésuites* . . . . 3 vols. (Quebec, 1858).

[8] The fact that this date appears in Notebook 10, whereas the date 1859 appears at the end of Notebook 9, is a warning that one should not necessarily assume that the Indian Notebooks were written in the order in which they are at present numbered.

by the librarian through exchange with the Jesuit library in Montreal.[9] He consulted the reprints of the several *Relations* prepared for James Lenox, using the Lenox reprint of Marquette's *Récit* to check the translation of John Gilmary Shea in French's *Historical Collections* of *Louisiana*.[10] He likewise took pains to establish the exact authorship of the various *Relations*. Thus he wrote, of the *Relation* for 1640-1641: "Though the first part has Vimont's name on the title page (He was the superior of Quebec) Le Jeune wrote it"; of that for 1661-1662, "*ap[parently]*" by Lallemant. He was naturally interested in the history of their delivery to France. He noted, e.g., of the *Relation* for 1642-1643, that

> This volume contains no relation for the Hurons, that having been taken by the Iroquois . . . near Montreal the 9th of June 1643 . . . but fell into the hands of Father Jogues who was a captive . . . & left among them when he escaped—Was it recovered?[11]

Later, reading the *Relation* for the next year, he quoted Barthélemy Vimont's story of the recovery. Again, he noted, of the *Relation* for 1652-1653, that it was "rather imperfect since the vessel which was carrying it was taken by the English & the Relation partly destroyed."[12]

Thoreau drew the first of the many volumes, Father Paul Le Jeune's *Relation* of 1633, from the Harvard Library on October 5, 1852; the last ones which he read he drew on May 27, 1858, less than a month before he examined the last irregular issues.[13] During these

[9] This fact he noted in Notebook 6. Cf. also his published *Journal* 7, 80 (*The Writings of Henry David Thoreau* [Walden Edition], [Boston and New York, 1906] 20 vols. The *Journals* [Bradford Torrey, Ed.], Volumes 7-20 in this edition, are also numbered consecutively, 1-14.).

[10] Thoreau had a low opinion of Shea's editorial ability. In a long series of extracts from and comments on Shea's edition of Part IV of French's work, in Notebook 10, he remarked, "Shea does not agree with himself," "Shea seems to be careless," "*Shea is an obscure writer.*" He also corrected Shea's translation of Hennepin's French, making a particularly scornful reference to his rendering of *deux* as "too."

[11] Notebook 9.

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] I think it safe to assume that Thoreau did not read any of the *Relations* before October, 1852, although a quotation from Le Jeune appears on p. 445 of *Journal* 1, in a section of miscellaneous paragraphs grouped under the date 1837-1847. In a prefatory note to the section (p. 438), the editor, Bradford Torrey, remarks that the paragraphs are "chiefly undated," but says further,

years he discovered other books by the fathers which meant much to him: the Récollet Father Gabriel Sagard Théodat's *Le grand voyage du pays des Hurons . . . avec un dictionaire de la langue Huronne* (Paris, 1632; 2 vols.), which he borrowed on Christmas Day, 1854, and the later work of the same author, *Histoire du Canada* (Paris, 1636; 4 vols.), which he first drew from the library on January 16, 1855; and a book which gave him special pleasure, John Pickering's edition of the Jesuit Sebastian Rasles' *Dictionary of the Abenaki Language in North America* (*Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 1, New Series [Cambridge, 1833]).[14] Indeed, it is possible that his introduction to the life of Rasles—which came to him through his reading of William I. Kip's *The Early Jesuit Missions in North America* (New York, 1846)—marked the beginning of his interest in the lives and writings of the Roman Catholic missionaries.[15] Among other Catholic writers who attracted his attention was the notorious Récollet Louis Hennepin, whose *Description de la Louisiane* (Paris, 1683) he also drew from the Harvard Library on May 27, 1858.[16] He read with affectionate interest the chronicles of Lescarbot,

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"All matter in the book appears to have been written before 1847." I should question this judgment. No other specific reference to the *Relations* appears in the *Journal* until October 15, 1852 (*Journal* 4, 388), ten days after Thoreau drew the first one from the library. An intervening reference to the Jesuits in Canada appears in *Journal* 3 (218), but it makes no mention of the *Relations;* it is dated January 22, 1852. One might interpret it, since it concerns the sincerity of the Jesuit missionaries, as an indication of the interest which led him to the *Relations* themselves, later in the year. (All the details of Thoreau's borrowings from the Harvard College Library I have quoted, by permission of the custodian of the University Archives, from the charging-lists of the library.)

[14] To this work Thoreau has given thirteen pages of notes in Notebook 10.

[15] In Notebook 2 he recorded fifteen pages of notes from Kip's book, all with reference to two letters of Father Rasles which appear in it. The tone of his notes suggests that he had not before known of Rasles. E.g., he wrote as a concluding note: "See how long he lived among the Indians—what languages he knew What mss &c there are at Cambridge about him." On the margin of one page of quotations he has noted, as a guide to further exploration, "Lettres Edifiantes." The next book but one from which he extracted notes in this Notebook is Pierré Jean DeSmet's *Oregon Missions* (New York, 1847); so his mind was very definitely on the subject. It is possible that he had known something of Rasles earlier, for in a list of books at the end of Notebook 1 occurs the item "Francis' Life of Rale See Memoir of the American Academy." (Convers Francis' "Life of Rale" is printed in Series 2 of Sparks' *American Biography.*)

[16] Fifteen pages of notes from this work appear in Notebook 10. Later in the same volume he discussed in detail the various opinions of Hennepin's veracity,

Pierre Boucher, Tonti, and Bossu, not to mention his favorite of all, Champlain.

Thoreau's first interest in turning to these books was not, of course, inspired by any concern with religion. He wished to establish the record of history beyond cavil, and he had discovered that the English historians were not to be believed; they were either ignorant of the facts or sought to suppress them. On the other hand, he was consistently impressed by the fact that the French had explored America long before the English arrived, and he was, therefore, the more certain that their histories were authentic. "The History of New England," he observed,

> . . . would read very differently if written by Frenchmen. . . . Our historians appear to have forgotten that before it was New England it was . . . Nouvelle France.[17]

Moreover, perhaps because he was of French extraction himself, he was generally sympathetic to the behavior of the French in Canada —that is, as compared to the behavior of the English—especially in their association with the Indians, who were the objects of his principal interest and devotion. "The French respected the Indians as a separate and independent people," he said,

> and speak of them and contrast themselves with them, as the English have never done. They not only went to war with them, but they lived at home with them. There was a much less interval between them.

When Father Jean de Brébeuf, e.g., instructed the Jesuits who were about to set forth on a mission to the Hurons in 1637, he admonished them to accommodate themselves to the habits, customs, and prejudices of their hosts—to keep quiet, to accept whatever came to them in the way of food (however filthy it looked, and was), to refrain from offering assistance unless they really wished to assist—concluding:

> If you could go naked & carry horse loads on your back, as they do, then you would be wise in their doctrine, and recognized for a great man, otherwise not.[18]

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in a long series of notes on Shea's edition of French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, Part IV.

[17] HM 949, quoted by permission of the Huntington Library. Cf. also *Cape Cod*, pp. 227-234.

[18] Quoted in Notebook 7. The translation is Thoreau's, as are all the passages in the Notebooks. Proud of his own knowledge of the French language, Thoreau

This was generally the understanding spirit of the missionaries, and to Thoreau it commended them at once as men to whose word he could listen. They had not, like the Pilgrims upon their arrival, performed as almost their first act, the desecration of a grave. A proper appreciation of wildness and the Indian could, for Thoreau, compensate for many things—for the laziness of some of the other Frenchmen who came to America, for their addiction to "strong water" and their extermination of fur-bearing animals. The Jesuits liked the Indians and found good in them.

The fact of their properly sympathetic point of view toward the Indians established, Thoreau was next at some pains to establish the accuracy of their observation. One of his first quotations is Father Le Jeune's assurance in the *Relation* of 1634:

> All that which I shall say concerning the savages, I have either seen with my own eyes, or derived from the mouth of those of the country . . . with whom I have passed six months . . . following them in the woods to learn their language.[19]

The very fact that the fathers had learned the language of the Indians was significant to Thoreau, and he noted with great satisfaction, from the *Relation* of 1639, that "Seven of the 10 fathers among the . . . Hurons 'at the end of the passed year' understood & spoke the Huron language."[20] The finding of Father Rasles' monumental dictionary was a golden discovery to him, indicative of the serious scholarship of the Jesuit and of his impartial search for truth. Reading the dictionary in 1858—for it appears that he actually did *read* it—he declared:

> Father Rale's dictionary . . . amounts to a very concentrated and trustworthy natural history of that people. . . . A traveller may tell us that he *thinks* they . . . built their cabins in a certain form, or soaked their seed corn in water . . . but when one gives us the word for these things, the question is settled,—that is a clincher. Let us know what words they had and how they used them, and we can infer almost all the rest.

He found the missionaries sometimes in error, to be sure, noting, e.g., their confusions with regard to the significance of various animals

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occasionally criticized the fathers' use of it. Quoting from Lallemant's *Relation* for 1647-1648 (Notebook 9), regarding the Hurons—" 'they never se poursuivent l'espée dans les reins, pour se confondre de parole, & pour se mettre à non plus' "—he queries, "Should not se be le?"

[19] Notebook 5.

[20] Notebook 9.

in the totemic system of the Indians, which they did not understand, and Charlevoix's ignorance of the habits of savages on the warpath: "(He leaves us to think they made a palisaide [*sic*] every night!!!)"[21] He observed suspiciously, with regard to the *Relation* for 1649-1650, "Sometimes, I find something is inserted in the back of the book after it has been received in France."[22] But usually he accepted what he found and sometimes he was enthusiastic. He was pleased to discover that General Lewis Cass, a recognized authority on the Indians, had praised Charlevoix as a writer whose works were generally sounder on the subject than all those which had preceded or followed them.[23] Charlevoix was, with the exception of Champlain, his own favorite authority, by whose statements he constantly checked the accuracy of all the others. On his excursions to Maine he was delighted to find that his own experience in the wilderness squared with that described in the *Relations*. When he was "nearly roasted out" of an Indian camp, he

> remembered the sufferings of the Jesuit missionaries, and what extremes of heat and cold the Indians were said to endure.

Henceforth Thoreau trusted the writings of the missionaries, faithfully copying into his notebooks their descriptions of the land—because he knew they had seen it—and of plants and animals. His interest in geography led him to take detailed notes on the explorations of the fathers, to copy their maps,[24] to record what places they had named and when, to note the extent of their wide journeyings and the amount of adventure involved in traveling to far and wild places where no white man had ever traveled before them. He kept careful lists of the missionaries themselves and of their residences—the number in residence and their exact location—the dates of their arrivals and departures. He was, e.g., attracted by such statistics as that the first Récollet to preach to the Neuter Nation was Joseph de la Roche Daillon in 1626; that Father Brébeuf, sent to New France in 1625, was the first apostle to the Hurons; that the Isle of St. Joseph's was

[21] Notebook 4.

[22] Notebook 9.

[23] For fourteen pages in Notebook 11, Thoreau quotes from and comments on General Cass' review of the writings of John D. Hunter and John Halkett in the *North American Review*, XXII (January, 1826), 53-119.

[24] In Notebook 4, however, he recorded that the Baron Lahontan "speaks of relations of Canada, as Cartes Geographiques of that country, but never saw but one that was faithful & that was not allowed to be printed—."

made the center of missions in 1649; that by 1670 there were "more than 20 different missions— — —among more than 20 different nations" in North America. He was careful to record dates: that the first Récollets sent to Canada left France on April 24, 1615; that Father Lallemant arrived at St. Joseph's on August 26, 1638 (and was the eighth priest to arrive there); that Father Gabriel Druillettes started on his embassy to the Abnakis with a Christian Indian of Sillery on September 1, 1650, and returned to Quebec on April 8, 1652; that Father Ragueneau left the Huron country for Quebec on June 10, 1650, and arrived there on July 28.

Always Thoreau quoted from the *Relations* all that is descriptive of the hardships which the fathers endured and all that emphasized the incredible fortitude and bravery of those men of gentle birth and background in a hostile wilderness of howling savages. From Lallemant's *Relation* for 1662-1663, e.g., he copied in detail the report of René Ménard, S.J., concerning his last journey with a group of Indians who finally abandoned him in the forest, where he lost his way and died. After their fashion, the Indians gave him no food except when they ate—which was seldom when they were traveling; they kept him so busy with the paddle that he had no time even to read his breviary, for they paused only when they met other canoes, and then only to discuss routes; he slept on a few branches tossed lightly on a bed of rocks. And he probably died tortured by mosquitoes, too weak to defend himself.[25] Yet his sufferings were mild compared to those of the martyred Jogues, Daniel, Brébeuf, Lallemant, Garnier, Buteux, Chabanel, Garreau, and Gravier. These obviously were men of the superior manhood which Thoreau believed should mark Christians; and as men, they deserved all commendation whatever their "superstitions" from a New England Yankee's point of view.

Nor was their manhood solely of the questionable "masculine" variety. Brave in the face of physical danger, they were more gloriously and humanely brave in their discovery of such virtue and intelligence among the pagans that even Christians might regard them with humble admiration. Thus Thoreau quotes Father Charlevoix:

> I have often heard old missionaries declare that some of the savages had proposed to them all that the wisest amongst the Greeks and Romans had objected to the first Apologists of Christianity.[26]

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[25] Cf. *The Maine Woods*, p. 311.

[26] Notebook 4.

In the second *Relation* which he read, that of Le Jeune for 1634, the keynote was sounded which would have kept Thoreau attentive to these works if he had found nothing else worth reading in them, for this is what he wanted to find:

> I have almost believed formerly that the images of the Roman Emperors represented rather the idea of the painters than of men who had ever existed . . . but I see here on the shoulders of this people the heads of Julius Caesar . . . Pompey . . . Augustus . . . Otho.[27]

The Jesuit wrote that the Indians had more understanding than the French peasants, that they "know neither ambition nor avarice," that "I have never seen but one savage pronounce this word, *Ninichcatihin*, I am vexed . . . he uttered it only once," that they were neither vindictive nor malicious, that "They must be tried by their own standards." He prefaced one anecdote with the significant words: "I will give an example [of generosity] capable of confounding many Christians."

This is not, of course, to tell the whole story of the association of the Jesuits and the savages—or of the Jesuit attitude toward the savages.[28] Nor is it to tell the whole story of Thoreau's attitude toward the missionaries and their labors. He had no greater sympathy for missionary activity in general than Mark Twain had. "If there are missionaries for the heathen," he said, "why not send them to me? I wish to know something; I wish to be made better." He had no initial sympathy with any effort to Christianize the Indians—who, if the fathers spoke truly, had nothing better to be converted to. The Indian's religion, so closely related to the winds, the waters, and the skies, was quite as sound and sensible, quite as worthy of faith, as

[27] Notebook 6.

[28] The *Relation* of 1634, for all its praise of the Indians, is marked also by a tone of exasperation which becomes occasionally bitter. The long-suffering Le Jeune calls the savages triflers—"true children, who demand only to laugh"—and notes that it is impossible to know when they speak seriously because they so enjoy making fools of others. He comments on their indecency, their faithlessness, their vindictiveness, their greed, their improvidence. "The savages are slanderous . . . beyond what we can think. . . . Lying is as natural to the savages as speech. . . . Interest is the measure of their fidelity, I should not wish to trust them but in as much as they feared to be punished if they failed to do their duty. . . . They know not what it is . . . to keep their word, to love with constancy." (Notebook 6) Le Jeune was not more troubled than Thoreau by inconsistency.

the Jesuit's, the Friend's, or the Moravian's. Thoreau was, therefore, mildly jocose about

> their zeal to convert the Algonquins from their own superstitions to new ones—to make neophytes of savage infants—even at the stake—& all go up to heaven together.[29]

After he began to read the *Relations* in earnest, in the fall of 1852, his first comment on them in his journal sounded another note of amusement.

> How Father Le Jeune pestered the poor Indians with his God at every turn (they must have thought it his one idea), only getting their attention when they required some external aid to save them from starving! Then, indeed, they were good Christians.

Thoreau gathered a thick dossier of evidences, much from the *Relations* themselves, to demonstrate the difficulties which the fathers encountered in their attempts to convert the savages to the Christian faith. A canny old savage, e.g., addressed to Le Jeune the one query which was really important to him: whether God knew the depth of the snow next winter. Thoreau noted of the Baron Lahontan's experiences with the Indians that

> The greatest difficulty he . . . had in convincing them of the truth of Christianity was that they thought the Christian's faith contrary to reason.[30]

The savages were surely not to be trusted, as the various martyrdoms testify. Even when they did not endure martyrdom, however, the intrepid missionaries, as naive as the savages themselves, were exposed to a secret ridicule which sometimes made their history more sad than tragic. The Indians used the crucifixes and rosary beads for personal adornment. They accused the fathers of bringing with them bad luck and pestilence, of being responsible for ill luck in the chase, for the departure of game, for worms in the corn.[31]

And what at last was the result of their selfless devotion? Well, General Cass, writing in the *North American Review* in 1826 called their missions "prejudiced & credulous" and declared that nothing by

[29] HM 949, quoted by permission of the Huntington Library.

[30] Notebook 4.

[31] According to the *Relation* for 1647, the massacre of Isaac Jogues was inspired by the belief of the savages that the devil, left among his clothes, had caused their corn to be eaten by worms.

then remained "to preserve the recollection of their spiritual fathers" save a few external ceremonies which affected "neither the head nor the heart." The success of the Catholic missionaries in Canada would, therefore, seem to have been no greater than that of the Protestants in New England, where, said Cotton Mather,

> When Mr. Eliot tried to engage Philip's attention to religion, the Sachem, taking hold of a button on the good man's coat, said, he cared no more for his religion than for that button.[32]

If, then, the fathers failed to effect the improvement of the savages in any enduring way, was their effort wholly a failure? No, not even in view of the bickerings between Jesuits and Récollets, and the other undignified elements reported in the chronicles. The selflessness of the fathers was in itself a justification for all their labors, however lost. The missions in Canada may have been "prejudiced & credulous," but the missionaries themselves were dedicated and unmercenary men, offering a marked and wonderful contrast to other early travelers in the land. Thoreau accepted the statement of Father Le Jeune in the *Relation* for 1636, that

> to gain some poor savage to God & the church, is all our trafic [*sic*] in this New World, all the manna which we collect in these deserts . . . we chase . . . only that in these great woods, and make no other fishery [?] on these broad rivers.[33]

The savages had themselves often understood and appreciated the disinterested motives of the fathers. Most concerned at last about the influence of the missionaries in New England, Thoreau studied in detail the work of Father Rasles at the Norridgewock mission in Maine, and recorded, e.g., the reply of an Indian there to the proposal of Governor Dudley in 1705 that after the restoration of peace the English would rebuild the church there—if English ministers might be sent to visit the savages. The Indian first pointed out that the English had known them much longer than the French but had displayed no interest in anything save the quantity of furs brought to them:

> Neither those who preceded you, nor your minister have spoken to me of prayer, or of the Great Spirit.

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[32] Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*, quoted by S. G. Drake in a footnote to Gookin's "History of the Christian Indians"; Notebook 2.

[33] Notebook 6.

The Indian then described a meeting with the Jesuit Fathers at an Algonquin village near Quebec:

> the French black Robe scarcely deigned to look at [furs]. He spoke to me at once of the Great Spirit, of Paradise, of Hell, of the Prayer, which is the only way to reach Heaven. I heard him with pleasure.[34]

The Abnakis of Maine had welcomed the spiritual counsel of men like Rasles simply because it was spiritual counsel, since, unlike the Hurons and the Algonquins, they had no thought of going to Quebec to trade and could consequently derive no advantage from their connection with the fathers, except that of instruction.[35]

Not only were the missionaries disinterested, thus winning the love and confidence of the savages—who reciprocated in kind; they also worked with the Indians, giving them instruction in the faith and teaching them improved methods of agriculture, tending their sick and dying. Their motives of humanity were above suspicion. One of Thoreau's first notes concerning them, recorded on January 22, 1852, —before he had begun to read the *Relations*—was:

> That in the preaching or mission of the Jesuits . . . which converted the Indians was their sincerity. They could not be suspected of sinister motives. The savages were not poor observers and reasoners. The priests were, therefore, sure of success, for they had paid the price of it.

These priests had taken nature—including human nature—as they found it, sympathetically and cheerfully, not leaping at once upon the aborigines to slay them with hatchets as children of Satan. They had adjusted themselves, bravely but with all difficulty, to a savage new world, not complaining but seeking to live and to preach the word of a greater and more abundant life, grounded on principle. They had praised before they sought to condemn. The Jesuits had been men of a practical faith, men who, like John Brown, had had the "genius" to be Christians. They were not to be counted among those later priests and ministers who were busy preparing the shrouds and writing the epitaphs of better and busier men. They had been tellers of truth, dreamers of high and noble dreams. Enduring incredible privation and hideous torture, they had, again like John Brown, given their lives as an earnest of their faith. That they had sought the

[34] Notebook 2. Thoreau drew his quotation from Kip's *Early Jesuit Missions in North America.*

[35] So Thoreau noted while reading the *Relation* for 1651-1652; Notebook 9.

crown of martyrdom simply proved further their sincerity as Christians and their nobility as men.

In Notebook 9 Thoreau was particular to quote from Father Paul Ragueneau's *Relation for 1648-1649,* that in

> 1649 Iroquois killed P Jean de Brebeuf & P Gabriel Lalemant—tearing out their hearts & eating them—drinking their blood warm, & cooking & eating, while they were alive the flesh of their thighs—calfs of their legs—& of their arms—in their sight.

This was, perhaps, the highest compliment which the savages, and therefore Thoreau, could have paid the fathers, for he previously quoted Father Brébeuf that the Indians roasted the heart of the "valliant" prisoner and distributed it among their youth so that they might gain his *vertu.*[36]

Thoreau's reading in the chronicles did no more, of course, than Hecker was able to do in converting him to the faith. His opinion of the Church was not complimentary:

> The Catholic missionaries succeed better with savages and barbarians than the Protestant because their own religion is more savage & barbaric. Their religion is more ceremonial and interferes but little with the practices of men but is superadded to them—a *super*stition. The priest comes recommended to the savage by his genial social virtues.[37]

That is a characteristically sardonic note, however. After all such notes are counted, one can say that, at the very least, the tone of Thoreau's commentary on the Jesuits and Récollets is in marked contrast to that usually taken by the historian of New England.

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[36] Notebook 7.
[37] HM 13182; quoted by permission of the Huntington Library.

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

Praelectiones Historiae Ecclesiasticae Aetatis Recentioris et Praesentis. By P. Fredegandus Callaey, O.F.M. Cap. (Romae: Athenaeum Pontificium Urbanum de Propaganda Fide, 1955. Pp. xvi, 496.)

Faced with the compendiarist's perennial dilemma whether to write a true compendium or a collection of topical essays, Father Fredegand has chosen the latter course. His *Praelectiones* cover the following subjects: Jansenism, rationalism, the Catholic revival of the nineteenth century, the Vatican Council, the temporal power of the Holy See, laicism, and the Church in the United States. His choice of approach is probably the wiser one. It certainly shows off the author's talents to best advantage. For Father Callaey is a seasoned historian, well informed, orderly in his presentation, frank and fresh in his approach. An attractive feature of these essays, e.g., is the careful analysis which he gives to books of particular historical moment, like those of Rousseau, Chateaubriand, LaMennais, and Ketteler.

One fault of such topical essays is that they leave many phases of history unrecorded. The seminarian at the Urban College of the Propaganda, for whom this book was primarily written, will find little or nothing of, say, eastern Europe, Scandinavia, or the Eastern Rites, in its pages. The omission of so much national church history makes the inclusion of a whole eighty-page essay on the Church in the United States seem at first glance disproportionate. Yet there are many American students at the Urban College who deserve to be instructed in the ecclesiastical history of their own country. And American Catholics can only be pleased to see the Church in the United States given fuller attention than it is usually accorded in European textbooks.

It is regrettable that there are several errors in Father Fredegand's chapter. Only a few of these are typographical. Two or three are in matters of American geography and secular history. As for the errors specifically in church history, he states, e.g., that Protestant ministers as well as Jesuits accompanied the Maryland pioneers to the new world. He calls Cheverus a Sulpician; and he appears to be confused in his distinction between the early American Sisters of Charity and the Daughters of Charity. He asserts, without reference, that there was an American College established at Innsbruck (of which the present reviewer can find no further evidence); but he does not mention the American College which was certainly established at Muenster. Apparently he

believes that Archbishop Ireland personally originated the school plan which he introduced at Faribault. And he inclines to attribute too many accomplishments to Cardinal Gibbons' strictly personal influence.

Some of the author's mistakes arise from his lack of complete acquaintance with contemporary American Catholic historical literature. He is not aware that Jules A. Baisnée completely revised the Guilday account of John Carroll's appointment as superior of the American missions, or that the Lord-Sexton-Harrington *History of the Archdiocese of Boston* (New York, 1944) has qualified the old assertion that New England had no trusteeist troubles. However, the bibliography which Father Fredegand cites, while not complete and somewhat uneven, is fundamentally sound. And it can be seen from the errors cited that they are neither numerous nor serious. Actually, the author has sketched a basically true likeness of his subject. His synthesis is able, appreciative, even enthusiastic.

The book is provided with an index and four pertinent maps. The map of the United States indicates not only the provinces and dioceses, but also the Catholic universities, and it is accompanied by a chronology of American Catholic history.

ROBERT F. MCNAMARA

St. Bernard's Seminary

Geistesgeschichte des antiken Christentums. By Carl Schneider. Two Volumes. (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1954. Pp. li, 743; xii, 424. DM 65.)

This monumental work of more than 1,200 pages is a great storehouse of varied information and recent research. It is provided with excellent indexes, although symptomatically neither the list of proper names, nor, apparently, the many pages of bibliography carry the name of Karl Prümm, S.J., who eleven years earlier gave us the opus, scarcely less monumental, *Religionsgeschichtliches Handbuch für den Raum der altchristlichen Umwelt* (Rome, 1954, reprint). Concerning gnostic literature, Schneider states that he desists from mentioning all modern works which "because of some dogma are biased, since they only lead astray" (II,340). It is his conviction that "the historian has but one task—of describing phenomena from all sides and with all the means available to him: it is not for him to look for a historical-philosophical or even metaphysical meaning"; he, therefore, does "not shrink from resuming the interrupted nineteenth-century tradition of historiography" (I, vii).

In the introductory chapter Schneider proposes to investigate Christianity *in toto,* not as a phenomenon of dogma or church history, but as

a part of the world in which it grew up; more specifically, as stemming from Hellenism in the widest sense, the epoch between the military and spiritual conquest of the world by Alexander and the creation of the Byzantine Empire in 529. In Chapter II he considers the foundations—Jesus, His doctrine, His disciples, Paul, John; in Chapter III one finds the development of Christianity in a world of emotional and mystical experience, myth and gnosis, magic and superstition; in IV, the structure and variation of Hellenism and Christianity from nation to nation, people to people; V: Hellenistic and Christian literature, music, places of worship, painting, sculpture, liturgy, etc.; VI: the compenetration—Hellenism, e.g., Platonism, the Stoa, and even Cynism by Christianity, and Christian literature, beginning at least with the Pauline letters, by Hellenism. According to Schneider, one can at no time speak correctly of a "pure Christianity."

In the final chapter the author infers and stresses that we must call these early centuries "antiquity AND Christianity," separating neither from the other. The former—antiquity as informed by the *Greek* soul, mind, and religious destiny—was transformed above all by the latter's absolutist claim and ethicising demand of a double love in place of self-love. He goes on to attempt to show that for its part Christianity underwent radical changes, that it was secularized, dogmatized, depersonalized, and sacrificed its unity. In the end there is found "a wondrous synthesis . . ., the dawn of a new European *Geistesgeschichte*. . . . Resting on the pillars of Christian Platonism, the world once more believes in the simultaneousness of divine ideality and human reality, the descent of the divine and the ascent of the human" (II, 333 ff.).

What has happened meanwhile to our dogmas? Of course, Hellenistic *Geist* and myth explain everything about Mary. The Resurrection? For the historian there are only two possible ways of understanding the report of it—a visionary experience, or a transference of "the myth of the risen god," or both. The Ascension? This, like the descent into hell, is only a myth: it is related to the Hellenistic form of apotheosis, and has many parallel ascensions, including that of the suspected parricide and suicide Peregrinus Proteus, etc., etc. How right the author was when he intimated in his foreword that a return to this sort of *voraussetzungslose Wissenschaft* has come to be regarded as bold and unusual!

JOSEPH C. PLUMPE

Pontifical College Josephinum

Saint Dunstan of Canterbury, A Study of Monastic Reform in the Tenth Century. By Eleanor Shipley Duckett. (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc. 1955. Pp. xi, 249. $4.00.)

The sub-title of this delightful and scholarly study hints at the breadth of its material. It is more than the biography of a sainted Archbishop of Canterbury (960-988), though it is that quite excellently. It is also the story of Bishops Aethelwold of Winchester and Oswald of Worcester, plus the whole fascinating account of the English Benedictine revival in Dunstan's day. To trace the genesis of that rebirth, Miss Duckett looks abroad to the continent of Europe and works into her narrative movements for reform which shaped themselves at Cluny, Fleury, Brogne, and Gorze. Her *Dunstan* is a case history of what churchmen have achieved in the way of spiritual renewal when motivated solely by Catholic ideals. There is much which is authentically mediaeval here: the scene wherein Dunstan drags young King Eadwig to his coronation feast (p. 57), wherein Abbot Brihtnoth and his monks of Ely pray and fast before setting out to steal the relics of St. Wihtburg (p. 134), wherein Foldbricht of Pershore, taken for dead, sat up in his bier, "as angry as could be and threw aside his funeral pall" (p. 150). Such incidents provide not warmth only but light upon their times.

Those who know Miss Duckett's earlier studies—*The Gateway to the Middle Ages, Anglo-Saxon Saints and Scholars, Alcuin, Friend of Charlemagne*—are familiar with the depth of her scholarship. Here she demonstrates anew that she has read more than the mediaeval lives of her subjects and the modern monographs thereon; she is at home in such disparate fields as those of local geography, monastic calendars, and church dedications. She writes in a style at once simple and charming. Her book gives an insight into its age and, therefore, rightly, belongs not to a single season but to the years.

HENRY G. J. BECK

Immaculate Conception Seminary
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Studien zum Investiturproblem in Frankreich. Papsttum, Königtum und Episkopat im Zeitalter der gregorianischen Kirchenreform (1049-1119). Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der Hohen Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität des Saarlandes. By Alfons Becker. (Saarbrücken: West-Ost Verlag. 1955. Pp. 262. Ffrs: 1.150,—.)

Due to the weakness of the Capetian monarchy France witnessed none of the dramatic incidents that marked the investiture controversy in the empire or in England. Instead the reform program in the Capetian domains progressed through a series of minor clashes on the occasion of each episcopal election until a new procedure was eventually worked out and accepted by royalists and papalists alike. The author of the present dissertation undertakes to examine the circumstances of every election to a royal bishopric in order to elucidate the progress of the reform and the factors that shaped its course within the Capetian lands of central France.

Dr. Becker divides the reform period into three chronological phases which he characterizes as moral, sacramental-dogmatic or organizational, and political-diplomatic. The first commenced with Pope Leo IX's presence at the Council of Rheims in 1049 and extended to Gregory VII's investiture decree in 1075. Then followed the long, critical period of Hugh of Die's labors as papal legate for France, the fall of Archbishop Manasses of Rheims, King Philip I's tactical blunder in involving himself in a marital problem, and the extension of the papal program by Urban II. The third phase, from Urban's death to the assemblies at Rheims and Mouzon in 1119, saw the king's acquiescence in the papal victory without benefit of a concordat or any such definite settlement. In two additional sections the author summarizes French contributions to the polemical literature on investitures and analyzes the king's role in episcopal elections in the early twelfth century. Seventy pages of erudite notes in minute print are placed inconveniently at the end of the text. Noticeably absent from the extensive bibliography are the *Cambridge Mediaeval History* and other important English works such as those of J. P. Whitney and Z. N. Brooke.

Mediaevalists will find the book interesting and generally well done. The author has thoroughly mastered the sources, but some of his interpretations are open to question. Ivo of Chartres deserves the considerable attention he receives in the volume; however, to insist too strongly that Ivo's writings were responsible for the terms of the Concordat of Worms is to invite criticism from those who find the example of the English concordat the decisive influence. Dr. Becker disagrees with Fliche's description of Urban II as "intransigent," but this is due to Becker's own failure to perceive the full significance of Urban's interpretation of the reform. Rather than the "logical and consistent" progression of the investiture problem, Urban's decree forbidding bishops to swear homage to their lay lords was a radical departure, at least from the Gregorian program. It raised officially the new issue of the temporalities of the bishops, while Gregory VII had more conservatively sought to limit the

dispute to spiritualities. Urban's action did not really make much difference in France, but it was important elsewhere.

RAYMOND H. SCHMANDT

De Paul University

The Writings of Bishop Patrick, 1074-1084. By Aubrey Gwynn, S.J. [Scriptores Latini Hiberniae, Volume I.] (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. 1955. Pp. 147. 25/—.)

This is the first volume in a new series, which will consist primarily of Latin works written by Irishmen in the Middle Ages. Each volume will be complete in itself, and will consist of a full introduction, including an account of the manuscript tradition and of the author's Latinity and style, a critical text with *apparatus criticus,* an annotated English translation, indices, and supplementary material where this seems feasible. The importance of such a series for theologians, historians, and students of mediaeval Irish culture can hardly be overestimated.

Patrick was the second Bishop of Dublin, being consecrated in London by Lanfranc of Canterbury shortly after the death of Bishop Dunan in 1074. The *Annals of Ulster* inform us that Patrick was drowned in 1084, and this is corroborated by the local Dublin *Annals of St. Mary's Abbey.* The introduction settles the problem of authorship, as the prose and verse treatises printed here have not hitherto been recognized as the work of Bishop Patrick. The *versus de mirabilibus Hibernie* [*sic*] show us the fertile Irish imagination at work (pp. 56-71). These "wonders and signs" tell us *inter alia* of werewolves, magic wells, airships, and contain an eleventh-century description of Ireland as the land without serpents. This is followed by other poems: *versus sancti Patricii episcopi* (pp. 72-77); *ad amicum de caduca vita* (pp. 78-83); *versus allegorici* (pp. 84-101) with a facile English line-by-line rendering *en regard.* The prose text, *liber de tribus habitaculis animae* (pp. 106-125), is confronted with an Elizabethan translation printed here for the first time.

The introduction contains a section on the author's Latinity and style by Dr. Ludwig Bieler. Patrick's education was partly classical, partly patristic, and his writing reflects both elements. Certain characteristics of "Hisperic Latin" are also apparent in his work. This reviewer quite agrees with Father Gwynn that M. L. Hermann's argument on Philostorgius as a source for the prophesying ox incident in the prologue to the *mirabilia* is rather far-fetched (p. 131). Father Gwynn himself correctly states (*ibid.*) that the sources of these *mirabilia* may be found in some of Bishop Patrick's classical reading. It should be added that the Middle

Irish translation of Lucan (twelfth century) enlarges upon *Pharsalia* I. 561:

tum pecudum faciles humana ad murmura linguae,

and tells the same story of the ox which speaks, mentioned in early *scholia* on Lucan *ad loc.*, going back ultimately to Livy 3.10.6 [cf. *Irisleabhar Ceilteach*, I (1935), 78].

The volume is well done and once more reflects credit on the fine work of the Oxford University Press, as well as on the sound and scholarly interests of the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies in launching this much-needed series.

ROBERT T. MEYER

The Catholic University of America

Études sur Saint Bernard et le texte de ses écrits. By Dom Jean Leclercq [Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis, IX (1953), fasc. 1-2.] (Rome: Curia Generalis Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis. 1953. Pp. 247.)

Saint Bernard théologien: Actes du Congrès de Dijon, 15-19 septembre 1953. [Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis, IX (1953), fasc. 3-4.] (Rome: Curia Generalis Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis. 1953. Pp. 334.)

The year 1953, the eight hundredth anniversary of the death of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, witnessed the publication of a large number of studies of St. Bernard and his influence on the life and thought of the twelfth century. The two works under review here are among the most significant and most important of these studies. At the general chapter of the Cistercian Order in 1950 the late Abbot General, Dom Matthaeus Quatember, commissioned Dom Jean Leclercq, O.S.B., to prepare a critical edition of St. Bernard's works. Dom Leclercq's task in preparing this edition has been an enormous one, involving a close and painstaking study of more than 1,400 manuscripts, scattered throughout Europe. When completed, this projected publication will be the first thorough edition of the *opera omnia* of St. Bernard since that of Mabillon, which appeared in 1667.

Dom Leclercq's *Études sur Saint Bernard* is a preliminary report on the project, in which the author lists and describes the most important of the Bernardine manuscripts with which he has worked, discusses many of the textual problems with which he was confronted, and indicates the solutions which he found to the problems presented in his edition of St. Bernard. There are a number of hitherto unpublished texts presented here

and, although none of them seems likely to alter very radically our accepted notions about St. Bernard's thought and opinions, some of these texts do throw new light on his personality. His sense of humor, e.g., as evidenced by his sermon on "The Fourteen Properties of Teeth," gives us a new and revealing glimpse of St. Bernard as a man. Altogether, these *Études sur Saint Bernard* should be instructive and enjoyable both for those who wish to know the great Cistercian better, and also for those who are interested in examining the investigative methods of an expert and capable student of the Middle Ages.

The second of these works, *Saint Bernard théologien,* is a collection of papers read at an assembly in Dijon in 1953 commemorating St. Bernard's death. As is only natural, there is a considerable variation in the quality of these eighteen papers. Space will not permit even a cursory notice of each of the contributions in the collection, but at least a few of them must be mentioned as worthy of very special attention. The opening paper, "S. Bernard et la théologie monastique du XII^{e} siècle," by Dom Jean Leclercq, is a brief and thoughtful essay dealing with the distinction between monastic and scholastic theology and with the place occupied by St. Bernard in the development of the "practical" theology of the cloister. The paper by Dom Jean-Marie Déchanet, O.S.B., "Aux sources de la pensée philosophique de S. Bernard," points out the important part which Plato and platonic thought played in shaping Bernard's theology. Father Yves Congar, O.P., contributes a long and illuminating study of the ecclesiology of St. Bernard, in which he examines, among many other things, the complex relationship between the ecclesiology of the Gregorian reformers and St. Bernard's concept of the Church. Also worthy of special mention is the study by Father Jean Chatillon, entitled "L'influence de S. Bernard sur la pensée scholastique au XII^{e} et au XIII^{e} siècle."

JAMES A. BRUNDAGE

Fordham University

Papsttum und Kaisertum bei Innocenz III. Die geistigen Grundlagen seiner Thronstreitpolitik. By Friedrich Kempf, S.J. [Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae edita a Facultate Historiae Ecclesiasticae in Pontificia Universitate Gregoriana. Vol. XIX. Collectionis n. 58.] (Roma: Pontificia Università Gregoriana. 1954. Pp. xviii, 338.)

This volume is the product of many years of intensive occupation with the letters, decretals, politics, and thought of Innocent III [cf. the author's edition *Regestum Innocentii III papae super negotio Romani imperii*

(Roma, 1947) and his study *Die Register Innocenz' III. Eine paläographisch-diplomatische Untersuchung* (Roma, 1945)]. The book under review must be considered one of the most important publications in the field of mediaeval history to appear in recent years, and at the same time an essential contribution to the history of the ever-present problem of Church-State relations. Father Kempf's work appeared in the same year as the valuable biography of Innocent III by Helene Tillmann, *Papst Innocenz III* (Bonn, 1954). In view of the mutual independence of the authors, their far-reaching accord in the evaluation of the historical role and the personality of the great pontiff is very significant.

Father Kempf did not intend to write a biography of Innocent III, or even a history of the contest for the German and imperial throne, which took place about 1200 and constitutes one of the most important events of the pontificate. He defines his work as a study of Innocent's views on the papacy and the Holy Roman Empire, as a study in the history of ideas and, especially, in the history of law. In this latter respect, the book is symptomatic of a true revival in our time of interest in the history of canon law which, thanks to the pioneer work of Stephan Kuttner, P. A. Stickler, S.D.B., and others, has placed at the disposal of historians an enormous wealth of rather neglected material without which, it is now realized, a sound interpretation of mediaeval Church-State relations cannot be achieved. This is particularly true for the pontificate of Lothair of Segni, Innocent III, the greatest of all canonists on the papal throne. It is largely by ascertaining Innocent's exact place within the development of the political and ecclesiological doctrines of the canonists, that Father Kempf is able to show his epochal role in the period between Gregory VII and Boniface VIII.

I must limit myself in this review to the main results of Father Kempf's study and refrain from a discussion of his many original solutions or suggestions concerning more special problems. The author's scrupulous sense of justice in weighing the motives and merits of Innocent III's actions and utterances is always apparent. It is all the more remarkable that in the extremely involved and taxing conflict over the German throne the pope's action can be considered less than fair only with regard to one relatively minor point, viz., the charge of perjury against Philip of Swabia, which was objectively correct, but ignored a very special situation, known to the pope.

In Part I of the volume, the author shows that Innocent's guiding motive in rejecting Philip of Swabia, the Hohenstaufen claimant to the German kingdom, and in supporting the Guelph, Otto IV, was his well founded concern about the Hohenstaufen's refusal to recognize papal sovereignty in the Papal States (including Innocent's recuperations) and papal suzerainty over the South Italian-Sicilian kingdom, both of which the pope

rightly considered an indispensable guarantee of the Roman Church's liberty. It is, therefore, unjust to blame Innocent for taking a "party" stand in the conflict; he always acknowledged that he favored one side, but for reasons which were political only on the surface.

This *favor apostolicus* is one of the crucial concepts, discussed by Father Kempf in Part II, which deals with the legal foundations of Innocent III's German and imperial policy. He based his right to intervene almost exclusively on the link existing between German kingship and the imperial dignity: this dignity could be conferred only by the pope and, because it served above all the protection of the Roman Church, its bestowal must depend on the pope's examination of the prospective emperor's idoneity; Innocent III, then, did not claim the right to take an active part in the election of a German king (or of any king), or to arbitrate a double election, but on the other hand he refused to accept a king-elect and future emperor whom he considered a danger to the Church. In addition to the argument which proceeded *finaliter,* that is to say, from the imperial consecration and coronation by the pope to his examination of German royal elections, Innocent also used a *principaliter* argument, on the strength of the so-called *translatio imperii* theory, according to which the origin and principle of the imperial dignity itself lay in its transfer from the eastern Roman emperors to Charlemagne by Pope Leo III in 800. Innocent III was the first pope to apply the old *translatio imperii* idea in a juridical sense; on the occasion of the German conflict, it seems that he envisaged an emergency right of the pope again to transfer the empire to another nation.

Part III is, perhaps, the most important of the book. In its first section, the author gives an excellent synthesis, including not a few original observations of his own, of the canonistic doctrines on Church-State relations from Gregory VII to Innocent III. He shows by a careful analysis, especially of the famous decretals *Per venerabilem, Novit,* and *Venerabilem,* that Innocent stands squarely in the dualistic, ultimately Gelasian, tradition which upheld the independence and the distinct function and operation of the temporal power as such, a tradition which had been vindicated against a certain "spiritualistic" vagueness of the Hildebrandian age by Gratian and by Innocent's own teacher, Huguccio. A more monistic conception of the relationship between the spiritual and the temporal order is, however, represented already by some other canonists of the twelfth century, and during the pontificate of Innocent III, perhaps, through Laurentius Hispanus, this conception begins to penetrate even into the dualistic camp, though not, essentially, into the pope's own thought. And yet, there is one very important aspect of Innocent's thinking, where, in the Christian world order of the Middle Ages, he could and must be a spiritual "monist." This aspect is treated

by Father Kempf under the title "The spiritualistic-theological consummation of Innocent III's view of the political world, and the *Christianitas* idea." Here he makes it clear that, and how Innocent, who claimed spiritual *plenitudo potestatis* in all things that directly or indirectly concerned the Church, could also, as vicar of Him who is both King and Priest, claim a certain power over the "whole world," which was then identical with *Christianitas,* the community of Christian people. But this quasi-royal or quasi-imperial power manifested, e.g., in papal crusading leadership, was, as Father Kempf rightly stresses, rooted in and dependent on the one Church and the common faith, it was "only a pale reflection of the *plenitudo potestatis ecclesiasticae,* a radiation of it into the temporal sphere, which in itself remains distinct."

Innocent III's greatness lies not least in his synthesis of canonistic ecclesiological-political dualism and of theological *reductio ad unum.*

GERHART B. LADNER

Fordham University

The Mongol Mission. Translated by a Nun of Stanbrook Abbey and edited by Christopher Dawson. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1955. Pp. xlii, 246. $4.00.)

The Life of St. Louis. By John of Joinville from the Text edited by Natalis de Wailly. Translated by René Hague. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1955. Pp. v, 306. $3.75.)

These two books, both belonging to the new series, Makers of Christendom, edited by Christopher Dawson, afford two contrasting studies of life in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. One deals with the empire and customs of the Tartars, or Mongols, and the missionary efforts among the Mongols of the Franciscans sent by the pope and by St. Louis IX, King of France; the other, with the life, virtues, and exploits of St. Louis himself as recorded by his friend and admirer, Jean Seigneur de Joinville, Hereditary Seneschal of Champagne, who accompanied his hero on his first expedition against the Sultan of Babylon, i.e., Cairo. Reading the two books together gives one an interesting and significant insight into a situation which has arisen more than once throughout the history of Christian Europe, viz., the threat to western civilization offered by the possibility of invasion from Asia. The Mongols under Jenghiz Khan and his descendants built up by conquest an empire that stretched from far away Korea to the Volga and the shores of the Black Sea. The Golden

Horde, under the leadership of Batu, grandson of Jenghiz Khan, held the Christian princes of Russia in vassalage for about 200 years, and left a mark upon "Holy Russia" which is still discernible in the communist regime which dominates it today. The Mongols depended not so much upon valor and real military talent as upon terrorism and treachery. It is illuminating to see the masters of Christendom faced in the thirteenth century with very much the same problem that confronts Europe today. Franciscan missionaries were sent by the pope and by St. Louis IX to obviate the menace by converting the barbarians. These efforts met with but little success, largely because of the ignorance, rivalries, and indifference of the Christian princes.

St. Louis was an eminent exception. *The Mongol Mission* consists of a series of letters written by the missionaries to their patrons. The two longest and most instructive are the letter of John of Plano Carpini to the pope, and the letter of William of Rubruck to King Louis. A shorter series of letters written by the Franciscan missionaries in China give an interesting picture of Christianity under the descendants of the famous Kublai Khan, founder of the Yuen Dynasty. Mr. Dawson has written a scholarly introduction giving the historical background. De Joinville's memoir of St. Louis is an old classic, but this new translation comes opportunely as a companion volume to the story of the missions to the Mongols. Joinville is a delightful if somewhat rambling story teller, and his account of the crusading exploits of King Louis, written for the most part at first hand, is illuminated by a wealth of notes and a convenient chronology, and is supplemented by the addition of Joinville's "Credo," an exposition of his well instructed piety, and by letters from St. Louis and from his chamberlain, John Sarrasin.

WILLIAM WILFRID BAYNE

Portsmouth Priory School

The Beguines and Beghards in Medieval Culture, with Special Emphasis on the Belgian Scene. By Ernest W. McDonnell. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1954. Pp. xvii, 643. $10.00.)

Paralleling the renewal of original monastic ideals, engendered by the Gregorian Reform and resulting in the rise and rapid spread of the Cistercians, Premonstratensians, Franciscans, and Dominicans, was a wave of religious excitement and mysticism among the laity which assumed a variety of forms. One of its most important manifestations was the beguine-beghard movement in northern Europe. It is this phase, almost entirely untreated in English, whch Professor McDonnell investi-

gates, using conscientiously and exhaustively the works of modern historians and contemporary sources of all kinds: chronicles, saints' lives and literature, papal documents, conciliar legislation, and records of religious orders, town and guild ordinances and records, property deeds, and testaments. These sources are, indeed, so abundantly used, with frequent quotations in text and footnotes, that the lines of thought not infrequently are broken and also intertwined. In an introductory chapter and here and there, at the beginning of some chapters, the author summarizes some of the results of his study.

The book is divided into six parts. Part One, "A Case Study in the *Vita apostolica*," deals primarily with Mary of Oignies, John of Nivelles, Jacques de Vitry, who strongly supported the movement, and Lambert le Bègue. Part Two, "The Extraregular in State and Society," studies the social origins of the beguine movement and its religious motivation, the fluctuation between protection and opposition by the hierarchy and religious orders, by royalty and counts and barons. Part Three, "Spiritual Currents in Belgium and Rhineland," considers Hildegarde of Bingen, Juliana of Cornillon and beguine devotion to the Holy Eucharist, Cistercian spirituality and the beguines, Christine of Stommeln, Peter of Dacia, and Master Eckhart. Investigation of the extent of the education and literacy of women in Cistercian and beguine circles takes up Chapter I of Part Four, "Popular Devotional Literature," which consisted of original compositions in the vernaculars and translations from the Latin under, particularly, Dominican sponsorship. Part Five, "The Extraregular in Literature: Positive and Negative Evidence," treats the divergent attitude, ranging from savage criticism to sympathetic praise, of contemporaries and arising in part from difficulty in distinguishing between true piety and the heterodox elements that masqueraded, particularly in Germany and among the beghards, in the garb of apostolic poverty and simplicity. Part Six, "The Extraregular and the Inquisition," after chapters on the Belgian town-beguinages and heretical movements, deals with papal and synodal legislation and investigations and the rehabilitation of the beguines under Clement V and John XXII.

The beguine movement was complex in origin and development, as much a source of confusion to contemporaries as it has been to modern historians. No one can be pointed out as its founder; the origin of the term "beguin" is still uncertain; religious feeling lay at its beginning and remained dominant; it owed much to the spiritual direction of religious—first Cistercians and later Franciscans and Dominicans—and, in turn, influenced the spirituality of diocesan and religious clergy; it had a "crusade fervor" against heretics but was itself frequently viewed with suspicion and treated with hostility by civil and ecclesiastical authority because of its lack of organization and regularity; it was recruited largely

from the middle class and the lower nobility yet provided a refuge for the poor; in Belgium it produced town-beguinages, but in Germany, except in Wesel, the beguines lived in numerous small houses; it met the social-economic and religious needs of those who could not enter convents and monasteries, putting a premium on chastity and evangelical poverty.

The book is beautifully printed, with the footnotes at the bottom of the pages. Only a few misprints have eluded the vigilance of the proof-readers. There is an extensive bibliography of primary sources and secondary works. Sub-division of the item "beguines" in the index would have made up to some extent for the absence of a summary chapter. A happy chance has given the reviewer the opportunity of seeing a photostat of the document used by the author (p. 213) and thus of correcting an error. The document issued by Margaret and approved by her son Guy is dated 1264.

JOSEPH N. GARVIN

University of Notre Dame

The English Church in the Fourteenth Century. By W. A. Pantin (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1955. Pp. xii, 292. $5.00.)

These Birkbeck Lectures delivered in the Lent Term of 1948 are now made available to a larger public. The title of the book is not quite adequate, because Mr. Pantin does not give a comprehensive picture of the "English Church" in the fourteenth century—how could this be done satisfactorily within so short a compass?—but rather focuses his attention on some selected topics. Clearly, the most valuable parts are those dealing with the intellectual life of clergy and laity, and of quite especial importance are the chapters dealing with the religious and mystical literature both in Latin and in the vernacular. The great value of these parts lies not only in that Mr. Pantin opens up some new aspects of learning in much neglected spheres of scholarship, but also in that he enlivens his presentation with numerous extracts from hitherto virtually untapped manuscript sources. This kind of literature—religious in the best and widest sense—is apt to reflect the high standards of clergy and laity in fourteenth-century England far better than lengthy academic disquisitions. Here, indeed, is a field that is in need of considerably deeper research and every subsequent worker in this line will find in this book a useful guide. A chapter on fourteenth-century historiography would have greatly enriched the book. By no means all the authors of religious literature are treated here—notable omissions are Simon of Boraston, Peter Quesvel, O.F.M., and the host of anonymous English tracts repos-

ing in continental libraries; but Mr. Pantin cannot be reproached on this score, for as yet far too little spade work has been done in this genre, and we must be genuinely grateful for a notable contribution to English *Geistesgeschichte* of the fourteenth century. It is odd to see Richard Wethershet, designated as Chancellor of Cambridge University, writing a *Summa* between 1220 and 1229.

The section of the book somewhat anachronistically entitled "Church and State" rectifies a number of modern estimates by supplying statistical data, but this part of the book lacks depth of perspective and penetration in its explanations of controversial issues, such as the making of bishops, royal provisions, and the like. One might be inclined to hear too audibly the voice of the twentieth century here. Moreover, a number of statements seem pointless, unless intended humorously, e.g., *"Nemo militans Deo implicat se negotiis saecularibus,* says the Apostle, but the difficulty is to know how to apply this, except by going into the desert" (p. 43). If Mr. Pantin had connected II *Tim.*ii.4 with I *Cor.*vi.3, he would have understood these profound apostolic sayings and would never have expressed such an oblique view which reveals that he had given little thought to the directive and guiding authority with which the mediaeval papacy and clergy had necessarily been endowed. As if, to choose an example at random, Gelasius I had not dealt with this very same quotation nearly 900 years earlier and had explained it quite satisfactorily. A Humbert in the eleventh, a Bernard in the twelfth, a Grosseteste in the thirteenth centuries—let alone the popes themselves—knew "how to apply this," and yet did not go into the desert. The crucial problem of the actual authority of the pope exercised in fourteenth-century England would need, in the face of the facts, some detailed examination. Mr. Pantin seems to feel the crux of the matter by recognizing the survival of the proprietary church system—he would have greatly profited from consulting the relevant work of Mollat relating to France—but he never asks the pertinent question of how this survival can be explained; he never asks how the peculiarly English jurisdiction in matters of advowson could be upheld in the face of explicit canonical enactments to the contrary. Nothing, surely, is explained by saying that there was no interference with "appeals to Rome (not Avignon?) in unquestionably spiritual matters, i.e., in cases not claimed by the lay courts" (p. 85), for a statement like this concedes that the criterion which decided whether or not a matter was "unquestionably" spiritual, was the royal standpoint and the mere claim of a royal right (cf. also pp. 31, 66, 84, etc.). One avenue to an explanation of these questions may lie in the notion of the king as a monarch in the mediaeval sense—Mr. Pantin is not precise: king, crown, state are used indiscriminately as if they all meant the same thing; incidentally, did not the king also belong to the Church?—a notion that has

given to English conditions their peculiar complexion since the Conqueror. The actual or attempted exercise of monarchic functions by the mediaeval English kings is a thread running throughout the period and may well have facilitated later developments. It is also regrettable that in attempting to shed light on the fourteenth-century English "Church and State," the author entirely overlooks a source which reveals to us more than the necessarily incomplete statistics or the more or less inaccurate accounts of chroniclers, viz., the symbolism observed in royal coronations of which no less than three occurred in this century. In them a certain ritual was followed that contained in symbolic form ideas which threw very significant light on these questions which engaged Mr. Pantin. The plea that present-day research does not allow definite statements can no longer be accepted, in view of much labor spent on this topic by a number of scholars. Liturgical symbolism can nowadays no longer be disregarded as a major and very reliable source of knowledge. But, leaving explanations apart, Mr. Pantin does give some statistical data upon which future research should proceed.

WALTER ULLMANN

University of Cambridge

Foundations of the Conciliar Theory. The Contribution of the Medieval Canonists from Gratian to the Great Schism. By Brian Tierney. [Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought. New Series: Volume 4.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1955. Pp. xi, 280. $5.00.)

This book is a welcome contribution to the history of the ideas that resulted in the conciliar movement. If the conciliar theories of the late fourteenth century are pretty well known, they are better understood as a result of our learning how much they owe to the great creative period of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Professor Tierney presents here a careful study of certain aspects of this background in the works of the early decretists, and shows how their ideas were accepted and modified, or more fully developed, by the great decretalists of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Innocent IV, Hostiensis, Jean Lemoine, Zabarella). In addition, he includes an excellent summary of the thought of John of Paris, who was greatly influenced by the canonists.

Quite naturally the author starts with the problem of the papal monarchy. The decretists of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, of course, found in Gratian the familiar texts which supported the principle of the supreme authority of the pope. But while the pope had

the *plenitudo potestatis,* was he an absolute sovereign, the sole legislator and interpreter of the law, *legibus solutus?* In general, the decretists held that the papal authority was subordinate to the faith and the *status* of the Church, and that in making a new law he should at least consult with the cardinals. But if the pope openly and persistently violated the law, or was guilty of scandalous conduct or, above all, stubbornly and publicly proclaimed heretical opinions, what could the remedy be? At least in the case of heresy, the most serious crime, the general council, representing the unerring *congregatio fidelium,* should then be the supreme court and the highest authority. The problem of assembling a general council, when only the pope had the right to do so, was not solved. The decretalists of the thirteenth century added important elements to this theory of the general council. The Church as a whole was treated as a corporation analogous to the local church or the bishop and the cathedral chapter. The bishop could not act in important matters without the consent of his chapter of canons; similarly the pope needed the consent or at least the counsel of the College of Cardinals in general legislation and in important judicial decisions. Just as the cathedral chapter had jurisdiction when the episcopal see was vacant, so the cardinals might be assumed to govern the Church when there was no pope. In case of schism, then, the cardinals should have the power to summon a general council. Again, if the bishop was treated as the proctorial representative of the local church, all the higher prelates of Latin Christendom should logically represent the corporate body of the Church as a whole in the general council.

These ideas came to fruition in the conciliar movement. No democratic limitation of the papal monarchy was involved; the conciliar theory was not revolutionary. The council was supreme only in an emergency, and it was composed of *ex officio* representatives of the clergy who as prelates could hardly believe in the democratic solution, a permanent system of a general assembly which represented the will of the lower as well as the higher clergy. Besides, the council was simply the means of restoring the health of the papal authority.

In the brief space allotted to this review justice cannot be done to the sensible, intelligent comments of the author on problems such as the theory of the corporation itself. His scholarship is completely objective, championing neither the papalist nor the conciliarist point of view. It is not unjust to say, however, that he possibly stresses too much such expressions as papal absolutism, papal sovereignty, and strict authoritarianism (especially in the thought of Innocent IV); the terminology is a bit loose on this problem of the *plenitudo potestatis.* There is, indeed, a problem, for the pope as for a king, of the distinction between *gubernatio* and *jurisdictio.* Could the pope, even in the thought of extreme papalists, *arbitrarily* deprive the clergy of their rights in property? Again,

while Professor Tierney properly emphasizes the theory of the prelate as a pocurator, he does not reflect on the importance of procuratorial representation in councils that was not *ex officio* representation. Why did *ex officio* representation triumph in the conciliar movement rather than the representation of the clergy apart from the heads or prelates? To speak of omissions is uncalled for since the author deliberately selects certain topics to study. But the representation of the laity was discussed by the early canonists. What did it mean?

As a little contribution of my own to a footnote (p. 52, n. 3), I should like to point out that the author's emphasis on the importance of *status ecclesiae* is correct; and that as a result of work I have been doing on it and on *status regni* I can assure him that my manuscript readings are on the side of Huguccio's saying *generalis status ecclesiae,* rather than *statutus,* to Dist. 15 c. 2 and Dist. 40 c. 6, also for the text published (pp. 248-250).

In sum, this book reflects a fine knowledge of the legal sources and a striking maturity of thought on the problems. It is a solid contribution to the history of the conciliar theory.

GAINES POST

University of Wisconsin

John Žižka and the Hussite Revolution. By Frederick G. Heymann. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1955. Pp. x, 521. $9.00.)

Until the appearance of this book, a truly critical estimate of the importance of the Hussite Revolt both in the development of modern Europe and in the origins of German Protestantism has been the restricted possession of a small circle of specialists in Slavic studies. Other historians, not acquainted with the languages of Central and Eastern Europe, have been compelled to rely upon German mediaevalists and their somewhat pointed appraisal of the figures in this eventful story. Therefore, this English written study of John Žižka, founded directly upon sources that include Czech annals, is a welcomed advance in mediaeval historiography.

Žižka appears in the history of Bohemia as silently as a shadow and then just as silently slips out again. But during the brief span of years that he dominated the affairs of the community at Tabor, his exploits never cease to amaze. Blinded in one eye and with little acquaintance with military strategy beyond the participation in guerrilla raids, he managed to build an army that in siege, counter-siege, and field maneuvers, consistently outwitted the superior forces of Sigismund's crusade. In fact,

his successes in battle revolutionized the art of warfare. Instead of depending heavily upon cavalry and static artillery, the basic strength of most mediaeval combat, Žižka emphasized the use of battle wagons—large peasant carts, armored with strong planks and bristling with guns and cross-bows. Such vehicles brought an advantageous mobility to field operations, since they could push through enemy lines much as the modern tank, or be grouped into temporary fortresses like the ancient Roman *castrum* to provide a defensive position that was nearly impregnable.

In bringing life and plausability to this complex character, the author presents, too, a convincing synthesis of all the forces and accelerations that were leading Bohemia toward nationhood, but provoking at the same time a violence in religious affairs that would echo loudly in the later rebellion of Luther. It is particularly about the figure of Žižka that we see the concentration of these impulses, especially the anti-Romanism, occasioned by the fateful execution of John Hus and Jerome of Prague at the Council of Constance, and furthered by the unfortunate burning of John Krása in 1420 by the emperor's order; the apocalyptic preaching of such zealots as John Želivský to whom Sigismund was the great Red Dragon soon to be overcome by the blood of the Lamb; the reappearance of the chiliastic idea of the imminent coming of Christ; the bibliolatry and the strong insistence on the vernacular in divine worship; the utraquism that became to Žižka such an essential symbol of the revolt that he placed the chalice on his coat of arms.

Underlying this biography is the thesis that Protestantism was born not in the time of Martin Luther but a century before in Bohemia during these Hussite campaigns. "One of the important historical conclusions which, I believe, can be drawn from a study of the Hussite Wars is that the Bohemian Reformation was not, like Waldensianism or Lollardism, a 'forerunner' of the later Reformation but an integral part of it, its first and by no means least important phase. In other words, the birth of Protestantism as a movement of decisive importance for the shaping of modern, Western man did not originally take place in Germany at the beginning of the sixteenth century but a hundred years earlier in Bohemia" (p. 475). The lineage of the Lutheran Revolt has been the subject of learned debate for centuries, and, therefore, some readers may take issue with this view. Notwithstanding their disagreement, however, they will still be impressed and enlightened by the learning of this significant book.

EDWARD D. MCSHANE

Alma College

The Religious Orders in England. Volume II, *The End of the Middle Ages.* By David Knowles. (Cambridge: at the University Press. 1955. Pp. xii, 407. $8.50.)

With the publication of *The End of the Middle Ages,* the second volume of *The Religious Orders in England,* and the third in a history of the mediaeval English regular clergy, Dom David Knowles has brought his study of this subject down to 1485. Both in the preceding volume and in the present one he did not undertake a piece of wholly fresh research; rather, using as his basis the investigations of other students of mediaeval history, pertinent to his subject and not needing re-investigation, he supplemented them by his own further researches in unpublished and published documentary sources and in books of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The result is a comprehensive picture; its authoritativeness is assured by the author's long-recognized reputation for sound scholarship and keen critical judgments, which this present volume sustains; and the lucidity and expressiveness of style make reading the book a pleasure. Little can be said in the way of adverse criticism, other than that there are a very few slips and typographical errors, too minor in importance to affect the quality of the book.

The volume is divided into two parts, "The Historical Framework," and "The Institutional Background." Each chapter within these two divisions constitutes a complete treatment of a topic for use as reference by students doing research. Two of the chapters, the first and the last, possess an intrinsic worth apart from their connection with the rest of the book, making them very valuable for assigned readings in classes of mediaeval history—the former explains the status of the orders in England in the mid-fourteenth century; the latter summarizes the history of the orders in England in the late Middle Ages.

In Part I Dom Knowles explains that the legislation of Pope Benedict XII (1334-1342) stabilized the rules of the Cistercian and Benedictine monks and the Augustinian canons, permitting mitigations in their rules and providing for their welfare, materially and intellectually. These decrees, although not universally or consistently followed in England, defined the law for these orders until the dissolution. They required, among other provisions, that a certain number of religious be educated at universities. To fulfill this houses of study were maintained at Oxford and Cambridge, although practical difficulties prevented full realization of success. A valuable study is made of the difficult question of the effect of the Black Death on the religious orders, due to the prominence given it by various historians. Dom Knowles concludes that this epidemic only temporarily affected the orders adversely. Other controversial problems —the conflicts between orders, the role of Wyclif, the place of Ockhamism

in theological thought, the criticism of the religious—are presented in both their historical and their intellectual context. Architectural improvements of religious houses, and the part various monks played in these, give a happy side of late mediaeval monasticism. Two other, very interesting, chapters treat of specific individuals. Of two, especially, Thomas de la Mare, Abbot of St. Albans, and the monk-scholar, Uthred of Boldon, Dom Knowles presents very pleasing portraits. Margery Kempe, so interesting a fifteenth-century figure, receives a sympathetic appraisal. Less edifying is the analysis of visitation records, recounting human frailties, relaxed discipline, and contemporary lack of uniform standards for religious, but they and the treatment of the alien priories and of the mystical life within orders provide valuable data for understanding the background of the English Reformation.

In the second part of this volume Dom Knowles treats of the institutional side of religious life—the recruitment of members, the age, variety of backgrounds and training of novices, the career of a professed religious within the community, the economy of the monastic regime—at a period when the orders had become stabilized in numbers, activities, and routine of life. Careful studies are presented of the decline in zeal and popular influence of the orders and of the numbers of religious in England in the period covered by the book. Students of literature as well as of history will find helpful the chapters on the chronicles and other writings produced in the monasteries and the survey of the contents of monastic libraries in late mediaeval England.

WILLIAM R. TRIMBLE

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L'église et la renaissance (1449-1517). By Roger Aubenas and Robert Ricard. [Volume 15, Histoire de l'église, edited by A. Fliche and V. Martin.] (Paris: Bloud & Gay. 1951. Pp. 395, 1,260 frs.)

Written by Roger Aubenas of the Faculty of Law at Aix-en-Provence and Robert Ricard of the Sorbonne, this volume deals with the Church and the Renaissance from the accession of Pope Nicholas V in 1449 until the eve of the Protestant Revolt in 1517. Practically the entire contents are the work of Aubenas, with the exception of those sections devoted to Spain and Portugal and their overseas expansion. Since the volumes of the Fliche-Martin series already published have generally been so well done and have received such critical acclaim for thoroughness and scholarship, it was to be expected that the present long-awaited

volume would equal, if not exceed, its predecessors of the series. Unfortunately, for this reviewer at least, such expectations have not been completely fulfilled. That the present work does not quite measure up is all the more regrettable when one considers that it deals with a complicated period of ecclesiastical history so significant from political, religious, intellectual, and social aspects.

Divided into two relatively equal sections, the book treats first what the authors call "Les hommes et les événements," and then "La vie religieuse du monde chrétien." Although a division of this nature can be, and is for the most part, advantageous in presenting this historical period, yet it does produce some over-lapping and questionable selectivity. Nicholas of Cusa and Pomponius Laetus, e.g., are each treated partially in both sections and adequately in neither one. Approximately the first half of the book written by Aubenas is devoted to a narration of the pontificates from Nicholas V to Leo X. Relying heavily on such standard authors as Imbart de la Tour, Pastor, Rodocanachi, Dufourcq, and Renaudet, the author adds no new material unfamiliar to the specialist in the field. In general this section is a convenient summary of papal history during the period under consideration. As is the case throughout the book, too much is attempted in too brief a space. In the interest of completeness, many events were included and treated so cursorily and inadequately that it would have been far better to omit them, especially if there were restrictions on the length of this volume. Such an era could have been served far better if a volume equal in size to many others in this series had been devoted to it. After good accounts of the reform legations of Nicholas of Cusa, Cardinal d'Estouteville, and St. John Capistrano during the pontificate of Pope Nicholas V, e.g., only six lines are devoted to the legation of Bessarion (p. 27); one paragraph devoted to the review of the trial of Joan of Arc in 1456 under Pope Calixtus III is thrown between brief accounts of the pope's nepotism and his last project for a crusade (p. 45); the Italian wars from the time of Pope Sixtus IV onward are dismissed as unimportant (p. 78); attempting to include everything in the treatment of the Church in eastern Europe and the Orient, the authors devote only one paragraph to each of those areas (p. 83); following a well-balanced account of the Spanish Inquisition, Ricard adds a disconnected and exceptionally brief section on the overseas expansion of Spain and Portugal in North Africa, the Canary Islands, Oran, the Congo, the East Indies and the Americas which amounts to no more than a list of names (pp. 115-120).

A complete and penetrating account of the contributions of the papacy to the Renaissance during this period would not be expecting too much. The author is entirely too brief on Nicholas V in this connection (pp. 35-38); the local color and intellectual milieu of the times of Pope Julius II and Leo X are noticeably missing; much that should have been included

under the Renaissance popes, especially the accounts of Cardinals Bembo and Sadoleto under Pope Leo X, is briefly and haphazardly scattered throughout section two on "La vie religieuse du monde chrétien." In contrast, a rather complete and well-done section is devoted to Savanarola whom the author, following Pastor, considers a sincere and immoderate reformer but definitely not a precursor of the Protestant Revolt (p. 138); disagreeing with Pastor's lenient judgment, the author in a well-presented account of the Pazzi Conspiracy of 1478 is of the opinion that blame must be placed with Pope Sixtus IV for his previous knowledge that such a conspiracy was to take place (p. 76); the Spanish Inquisition is rather thoroughly and fairly treated by Ricard who, following the two recent Spanish accounts by Llorca (1948) and de la Pinta Llorente (1948), claims that it was an ecclesiastical institution dominated by the state. The author, however, renders a judgment as to its success rather than one regarding the morality of the Inquisition (p. 107).

The particular value of this work is contained in the second part, "La vie religieuse du monde chrétien." Also written for the most part by Aubenas, this section begins with a brief sketch of the problem of the Renaissance and its relationship to humanism and religion. Here the author summarizes the various opinions from Michelet and Burckhardt to Toffanin, Olgiati, and Kristeller and offers valuable bibliography concerning these problems in the footnotes (pp. 201-209). Modifying the extreme opinions of Michelet and Burckhardt on the one hand, and of Huizinga and Nordstrom on the other, the author follows the moderate view which is more common at the present time. The inter-relations of the Renaissance, humanism, and religion are so fascinating and complicated that one would wish that they had been discussed and analyzed with more thoroughness than is done in these eight pages. In the following chapter humanism and the Renaissance in Italy during this period are rather briefly and unevenly treated. Here again too much is attempted—a few lines are devoted to the sceptical poets, Luigi Pulci and Giovanni Pontano (p. 216), several short paragraphs are given to Machiavelli with no reference to the works of Gilbert on the subject (p. 217), a brief and dated account of Pomponazzi is added without making use of the recent works by Oliva, Ferri, Ragnisco, and Saitta (p. 213), and in treating Christian humanism in Italy only one paragraph is devoted to Paolo Cortese, Adriano di Corneto, and Egidio di Viterbo (p. 221) while the educators, Battista Spagnoli and Jacopo Sannazaro, receive only a few lines (p. 223). The same criticism cannot be made concerning the sections devoted to humanism in Germany, France, the Low Countries, and England in which there are brief but splendid accounts of Reuchlin (p. 237), Lefevre d'Etaples (p. 256), Erasmus (pp. 241-246) and St. Thomas More (p. 250).

A discussion which should prove most interesting and valuable, both to the layman and scholar, is that dealing with Renaissance society as judged in an unflattering and exaggerated manner by its contemporaries, i.e., by such writers as Erasmus, Wimpfeling, and Sebastian Brant (pp. 261-264), and by Olivier Maillard and other preachers (p. 269). Much material, even though familiar to the scholar, is gathered together in this chapter, as well as in those devoted to the condition of the religious and secular clergy, and the necessary attempts at reform throughout Europe. Although the material for these sections is for the most part taken also from Imbart de la Tour, Dufourcq, *et. al.*, it is here that the author's talent for both analysis and synthesis is most evident. To an uneven work such as this valuable final sections are added on religion, cult, devotions, superstition, the Church, printing, and art, and finally a brief sketch of heresies and evidences of irreligion at the close of the Middle Ages.

There is no doubt but that the authors are well acquainted with the literature on all phases of this complicated period as is evidenced by the abundant bibliographical footnotes placed conveniently at the bottom of each page. As is customary in the Fliche-Martin series, a general bibliography is included at the beginning of each volume. Many of the previous volumes of this series were outstanding for the completeness of those bibliographies. It is certainly known to those familiar with this field of ecclesiastical history that the scholarly works devoted to this period in the five major languages is most extensive. Unfortunately, this fact could not be gathered from the useful but by no means adequate bibliography at the beginning of the volume under review.

GEORGE E. TIFFANY

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Cardinal Quiroga. Inquisitor General of Spain. By Maurice Boyd. (Dubuque: Wm. C. Brown Co. 1954. Pp. xi, 163. $3.00.)

Cardinal Don Gaspar de Quiroga has been one of many important administrative figures dwarfed by historical concern with Spain's sixteenth-century monarchs. It is not without significance that Roger Bigelow Merriman wrote the final volume of his history referring to Quiroga but once in a cursory fashion. In this study Mr. Boyd has attempted to recover the historical figure of Quiroga by considering his relationship to the religious and political matter that came within the area of his authority. The author has labored under difficulties common to historians of the reign of Philip II. Records of Quiroga's private life are meager. Even

after he was launched into an administrative career that was to see him emerge as the most influential counsellor of the king, documentation remains centered in the formal correspondence of the royal bureaucracy. Accordingly, the account lacks the intimacy and detail for which many readers might hope.

Within these unavoidable limitations Mr. Boyd ably recounts an important career. The impact of Quiroga's personality is encountered in the many changes in ecclesiastical administration that he inaugurated. Briefly the cardinal stood for better and more uniform administration of the Spanish Church through the extension of episcopal control over the clergy.

It is Quiroga's position as head of the Spanish Inquisition that merits the attention of the historian concerned with the centralization of the sixteenth-century Spanish state, and it is to this office that Mr. Boyd devotes the major portion of his work. The account is, unfortunately, not completely satisfactory. The picture that is drawn reveals Quiroga as most moderate in his policies and capable in many instances of mitigating the harsher features of the inquisition. The inquisition itself emerges as an instrument of royal policy, as another bureaucratic device dedicated to the achievement of national political uniformity. In spite of his high office Quiroga was simply another official more and more circumscribed in his own maneuverability by the policy of centralization. This much is clear from Mr. Boyd's work. Unfortunately, the author does not consider the procedural relationship evolved between the crown and the inquisition in the conduct of their business. Such an account would have been a positive contribution to our lack of information and understanding of the administrative techniques of absolutism. While the book is a sound treatment of Quiroga, the author fails to ask the really vital questions.

EDMUND W. KEARNEY

John Carroll University

An Autobiography from the Jesuit Underground. By William Weston. Translated and Edited by Philip Caraman. Introduction by Evelyn Waugh. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy. 1955. Pp. xxvii, 259. $4.00.)

During the fierce Elizabethan persecution of the missionary priests innumerable deeds of heroism for the faith were performed, for which no written record remains, except a line in a martyrology or an entry in a prosaic chronicle kept in some overseas archives. The few contemporary

historians who described these days were usually observers from afar, and not participants in the actual conflict. If the average modern reader were to analyze his sources of opinion on late sixteenth-century English church history, he would realize how much coloring of thought and personal viewpoint came from Robert Hugh Benson, rather than from writings which date back to Tudor times.

Recent years have witnessed a revival of interest in this age, as Philip Hughes can testify. Yet historians, as a rule, must piece fragments of information in order to reconstruct an event or a personality of that age. Thus Philip Caraman, S.J., helps to supply the deficiency of first-hand accounts by a scholarly and interesting edition of William Weston's autobiography. In producing this volume, Father Caraman matches in excellence his earlier edition of another Elizabethan priest's autobiographical manuscript, John Gerard's *Autobiography of a Hunted Priest* (New York, 1954). Although the newer narrative is not near so adventuresome in content and character of experiences, its general impact is greater because of the author's personality. Here is a case of saintly reticence sounding more loudly than intentional expansiveness. Weston's work appeared in an imperfect edition of a Stonyhurst manuscript in 1875. Father Caraman recognized the flaws and incompleteness of this manuscript and used instead a complete and perfect transcript preserved in Rome and thus he avoided the mistakes of eighty years ago. His introduction, and especially his notes of amplification are superb and calculated to engender a scholarly curiosity in even the most casual reader.

Father William Weston, educated at Oxford and Lincoln's Inn, forsook the law for the priesthood and entered the Jesuits in 1575. Ordained in 1579, he taught in Spain until December, 1583, when the summons to the English mission reached him. He began his apostolic work at the following Easter. The *Autobiography* covers this portion of his life only, 1584-1604. It was written at Seville in 1611, eight years after he had been exiled from England. Under direction from his superiors, Weston tells in a subdued manner, with no self-praise and with a minimizing of danger or discomfort, the progress of underground missionary activity during the last twenty years of Elizabeth's reign. It employs chronological narrative, dotted with many interesting and illustrative anecdotes. There are some surprising incidents which depict the method whereby imprisoned priests continued their preaching and instruction with the assistance of brave friends. Adventuresome experiences are mixed with plain hard work and the figure of William Weston rarely emerges as the hero of any escapade. Striking portraits of some of the leaders of Catholic resistance are drawn by his incisive pen. One topic calculated to catch the reader's eye is the excessive use of the power of exorcism at that time.

This attractive volume, skillfully framed in a structure of scholarship, should serve as a model to other historians who seek to preserve integrity yet look for universal appeal. The autobiography of a man is, in this instance, a clever biography of an era.

THOMAS W. CUNNINGHAM

Seton Hall University

Takayama Ukon und die Anfänge der Kirche in Japan. By Johannes Laures, S.J. [Missionswissenschaftliche Abhandlungen und Texte. Veröffentlichungen des internationalen Instituts für missionswissenschaftliche Forschungen. Herausgegeben von Thomas Ohm, O.S.B. unter Mitarbeit von Max Bierbaum und Benno Biermann, O.P., Heft 18.] (Münster: Aschendorff. 1954. Pp. xii, 397. DM 26.—.)

In recent years interest in the mission history of Japan has gained considerably. Among various studies this book by Father Laures holds an eminent place. It is the biography of Takayama Ukon, the greatest Catholic of the early missionary period in Japan. Takayama Ukon was born in 1552 or 1553 and in 1563 was baptized with his father and received the name Justus; accordingly in the letters by the Jesuit missionaries his name is Justo Ucondono. Takayama Ukon is one of the most outstanding men of his time, both as a patriot and as a Christian. To all his contemporaries he was most famous as a Japanese loyal to the customs of his country as well as to the Church. He embraced Christianity completely and with full consent, obeying the commandments and fulfilling them without hesitation, regardless of the consequences involved. His exemplary life won the admiration of all Japanese, high or low; and because he suffered for the faith, he was a source of inspiration to the Christians in the days of severe persecutions. The author depicts him as an exemplary lay apostle in the truest sense of the word. He was most active in making converts and through his words not a few of the war lords accepted the Catholic faith.

Takayama Ukon served under the three famous shoguns, Nobunaga, Hideyoshi (Taikosama), and Jeyasu (Tokugawa), the builders of a united Japan. These three rulers respected his character but hated his religion. As a result, he suffered a great deal at their hands and finally was banished from Japan by Jeyasu. This banishment was for him worse than death because it branded him before the whole nation as an unworthy Japanese citizen. Even in exile he wanted to remain a true Japanese, and having received great honors from the Spanish governor in Manila,

he refused to receive any further support from him. Takayama Ukon died only forty days after he had arrived in the capital of the Philippines.

The life of Takayama Ukon is presented in its proper setting. After a short survey of missionary work beginning with Francis Xavier, the author gives a more detailed explanation about Takayama Darius, the father of Ukon, who himself was very active in introducing the Catholic religion wherever possible. No doubt, Darius' remarkable deeds of charity made a deep impression on his son, influencing him to follow in the footsteps of his father and to be a standard bearer for his religion.

It will be of interest to the mission historian to learn about the close co-operation between the Jesuit missionaries and Takayama, father and son, of the mission superior, Cabral, the visitator from Rome, Valignano, who promoted the building of seminaries, the vice provincial Coelho, Fathers Organtino and Frois Luis and Brother Lawrence. We learn, too, of the coming of the Franciscans. It was most unfortunate to have Hideyoshi involved in the controversy of jurisdiction (pp. 257-267). Also on the cause of the twenty-six Japanese martyrs detailed information is given (Chapter 14).

Takayama Ukon being practically all his life a public official, his policy in public affairs and government is emphasized. The attitude of the military rulers, of Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Jeyasu to Christianity, is well explained and new references bring a fresh approach to their policies. Nobunaga was friendly to the Christian religion, so much so that many believed he would become Catholic himself, although he had a temple built where during his lifetime such honor as was due to God should also be paid to him (pp. 134-136). Hideyoshi was friendly but intensely suspicious of foreigners. His fears were aroused by Father Coelho's *Fusta*, a small armored ship which he himself inspected in 1587. For that, Ukon feared severe consequences and advised Coelho to donate the ship to Hideyoshi, but Coelho refused. Moreover, later his actions were imprudent (pp. 196-198). About the same time another Portuguese ship sailed into the harbor of Hirado. Hideyoshi took action and began persecution of the Christians (p. 197). A decree dated July 24, 1587, banished the missionaries from Japan (p. 207). Ukon suffered his first banishment from the court of Hideyoshi and lived in a northern province until the end of 1592 when Hideyoshi re-installed him in full honors (p. 244). In 1596 the Spanish ship *San Felipe* from Manila ran aground on the shores of the island Shikoku. This well known event is given here in full detail. It provoked Hideyoshi anew to persecution; twenty-six Japanese Catholics were crucified at Nagasaki and the Jesuits awaited arrest any day (pp. 267-279). Hideyoshi was involved in a war with Korea at this time and his death in 1598 ended the persecution. In the following years Jeyasu established his regime which was outwardly friendly to the Christians;

yet in his heart he favored Buddhism, which encouraged the Bonzes to stir up hatred; nor did he mitigate the anti-Christian laws of his predecessor. During his reign the commercial struggle between Portugal, Spain, Holland, and England was going on in such a way as to bring very low any respect the Japanese might have for Christian laws and conduct (p. 332). Jeyasu, although hoping to have personal gains from this foreign trade, decided upon a persecution against the Christians when provoked by Vizcaino's arrogance in taking soundings in Japanese waters (pp. 324-335). This was in 1611. Still hesitating about declaring a persecution, the final edict was proclaimed on January 27, 1614, which was also the year of Tokayama Ukon's banishment from Japan.

The life of this famous Japanese Catholic had been almost forgotten, and we are glad it is retold. The author has employed all the available evidence and has substantiated his facts from original sources which have been appraised in the light of historical criticism. The report of Frois is frequently corrected. Takayama Ukon gained high national reputation as master of the tea ceremony which the author describes as a ceremony of religious meaning. And consequently Ukon saw in it an inspiration for higher perfection through the Catholic religion (pp. 308-315).

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The Imperial Intellect. A Study of Cardinal Newman's Educational Ideal. By A. Dwight Culler. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1955; London: Geoffrey Cumberledge, Oxford University Press. Pp. xiii, 327. $5.00.)

Since the death of John Henry Cardinal Newman in 1890 there has been a constant output of writings dealing with his life and work. It is, however, remarkable that until recently these have relied almost entirely on Newman's published books. A certain amount of his correspondence was available in Anne Mozley's *Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman* (London, 1898) and in the *Correspondence of John Henry Newman with John Keble and Others, 1839-1845* (London, 1917), published by the Oratorian Fathers, but both of these collections were very limited in scope. A good many other letters and documents were included by Wilfrid Ward in his great biography (London, 1912), but even he, as he indicated in his preface, had not full access to the Newman Papers. Other writers either did not know of the extraordinary wealth of material con-

tained in the archives of the Birmingham Oratory, or found that the filial reverence of Newman's community made them hesitate to entrust it to public knowledge.

A decade ago the interest aroused by the celebration of the centenary of Newman's reception into the Catholic Church drew attention to the existence of this material, and encouraged the Oratorians to make it available to the many scholars and writers from all over the world who wished to enrich their knowledge of Newman and to make him better known to others. It was fortunate that at that time the archives were under the care of the late Father Henry Tristram, the greatest Newman scholar of our day. He not only had an intimate knowledge of the mass of papers contained in them and of the whole background of Newman's life and achievement, but was willing to give his unselfish assistance to the never-ending stream of inquirers.

Among those who found their way to the Birmingham Oratory was Professor Culler. He came with a two-fold purpose, to microfilm the contents of the archives for the Sterling Library at Yale University and to write a work on Newman's educational ideal. Like all who have seen these archives he was staggered at their size, "a veritable treasure of thousands upon thousands of pages." Newman spent much time all during his life sorting and rearranging his papers because, as he said, his biographers needed "elbowroom." Professor Culler well remarks that "the actual effect upon most of his biographers is to give them not elbow-room but agoraphobia." Newman enthusiasts will be gratified to learn that Professor Culler, with the cordial approval of the Oratorian Fathers, achieved his first aim. This great mass of material, not merely for the study of Newman but for that of the nineteenth century in England, is safely housed in microfilm at Yale. (The satisfaction may, perhaps, be heightened that it now exists in a sense in duplicate when it is recalled that during the war an unexploded land mine lay for many hours a few hundred yards from the oratory.) Professor Culler's second aim has been realized in the publication of the book now under review.

The author's purpose is succinctly stated in the preface:

> It should of course be clear that I am not writing a general biography of Newman. The story that I tell is simply that of Newman's education, of his work as an educator of others, and of his educational thinking as expressed in the *Idea of a University*. But it also happens that one effect of this restriction is to reveal aspects of Newman's life which the general biographies have missed. For these works, following the line laid down in the *Apologia*, have concentrated upon the development of Newman's religious opinions, narrowing his life to the compass of the Tractarian movement and measuring his opinions by their approximation to Rome. What they forget is that all this while Newman was living in a university and was professionally engaged in the

work of education. 'Now from first to last,' he wrote in 1863, 'education, in this large sense of the word, has been my line,' and by following out this line one discovers an interaction between Newman's educational and his religious interests which provides the central pattern of his entire life (p. xii).

The first five chapters of the book are devoted to Newman's intellectual development and influence up to the time of his entrance into the Catholic Church and departure from Oxford in 1845. This ground has, of course, been covered before in a general way by Wilfrid Ward and the lesser biographers and by such recent works as Maisie Ward's *Young Mr. Newman* (London, 1948) and R. D. Middleton's *Newman at Oxford* (New York, 1950). But Professor Culler's account of these memorable years is original for two reasons. Whilst taking full account of Newman's religious struggles, it concentrates, in accordance with the plan already outlined, on the development in his mind of the fundamental concepts of intellect and knowledge which were the basis of his total outlook on life. Furthermore, it relies not only on all the well known sources but also on the copious original materials which are available right back to Newman's early schooldays at Ealing School, notebooks, memoranda, diaries, lists of reading, annotated copies of texts. Perhaps, the most interesting of these chapters is that on "Tractarian Education" in which the question is discussed of Newman's influence on the Oxford of his day, and the view is expressed that, if influence is understood as personal power rather than the ability to change outward systems, Newman "was certainly one of the greatest intellectual forces Oxford has ever known."

In the succeeding three chapters Newman's rectorship of the Catholic University of Ireland and the immediate events which gave birth to his *Idea of a University* are rapidly but accurately sketched. Here again the author has not relied solely on published sources, but has checked the immense Birmingham correspondence with Newman's letters preserved in the archives of the Archdiocese of Dublin. He makes generous reference to a work of the present reviewer dealing with this period in Newman's life, and the reviewer is grateful to him for having indicated some minor errors in that work and congratulates him on having discovered Newman's "University Journal," a document for which both Wilfrid Ward and the reviewer searched in vain.

The account given in these chapters of Newman's relations with both the clergy and laity of Ireland is, on the whole, scrupulously fair. There is just one phrase used which needs qualification. Among the causes of Newman's failure in Ireland is given "the division and hostility among the bishops." This might give the impression, not, it would appear, intended by the author, that the Irish bishops as a body were hostile either to Newman or to the university or to both. The only bishop who could truly be said to be hostile to Newman was John MacHale, Arch-

bishop of Tuam, and his hostility was not to Newman personally but to Newman as nominee of Paul Cullen, Archbishop of Dublin, whom MacHale considered to have concentrated the government of the university in his own hands. The relations between Newman and Dr. Cullen present a psychological puzzle, but to describe Cullen's attitude as one of hostility would be a misleading over-simplification. It was he who had the vision and courage to invite Newman to become rector. The other bishops were almost all markedly friendly to Newman. During his first journey through Ireland in 1854 he wrote: "I am received by Bishops and clergy with open arms." There certainly was division among the bishops as to the wisdom of undertaking the university project, but this was not due to any lack of enthusiasm for higher education. Rather it was due to their consciousness of the distraught state of the country, bled by famine and impoverished by an iniquitous system of land tenure. Once the project had been launched they supported it in the most practical way by encouraging their flocks to subscribe to it out of their meager resources, and continued to do so for twenty years after Newman's departure from Ireland.

Undoubtedly the most valuable part of this book—all of which is valuable—is contained in the last five chapters which bear the general title, "The Idea of a Liberal Education." In these the author considers the great principles which emerge from the three works of Newman which may more particularly be called educational: *The Idea of a University Defined and Illustrated, I In Nine Discourses delivered to the Catholics of Dublin; II In Occasional Lectures and Essays Addressed to the Members of the Catholic University,* and *The Rise and Progress of Universities.* It would be impossible within the scope of a brief review to do justice to the careful, well informed, and objective analysis of Newman's thought which these chapters contain. It is not, of course, the first time that this analysis has been attempted. One may recall such notable recent examples as the essay "Catholic University" by Dr. Michael Tierney, President of University College, Dublin, in *A Tribute to Newman* (Dublin, 1945) published in the centenary year of Newman's entrance into the Catholic Church, and the series of lectures by professors of the same college delivered in the centenary year of the composition of *The Idea of a University* and published under the title *Newman's Doctrine of University Education* (Dublin, 1954). Doubtless also Professor Culler would be the last to assume that his analysis is final. It is a feature of Newman's thought that its facets are innumerable and yield fresh illumination on each new presentation. But Professor Culler has undoubtedly made a most notable contribution to the understanding of all the great themes which Newman propounded: the unity of knowledge, the nature of liberal education and its effect on the mind, the real meaning of utility in educa-

tion, and the relations between secular knowledge and religion. These are not mere curiosities of past educational and religious history. That they are vital issues of today on both sides of the Atlantic may be seen from the perusal of such recent works as the *Report of the Harvard Committee on General Education* and Sir Walter Moberly's *The Crisis in the University*. They are, indeed, issues, as the last-named book clearly indicates, which concern the very preservation of our civilization.

One of Newman's hopes was that American students would come to sit at his feet in the nascent university in Dublin. This hope, like many others, was over-sanguine. But it is surely strange that, by a species of reverse process which would have appeared fantastically impossible to Newman, the magic of modern science has transported across the Atlantic the entire body of the writings which he so painfully amassed for posterity. It is thus at the disposal of American genius, and it is a good omen for its future utilization that an important part of it has been the foundation for this distinguished, scholarly, and admirably written work.

FERGAL MCGRATH

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The Catholics and German Unity, 1866-1871. By George G. Windell. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1954. Pp. xi, 312. $5.00.)

While based upon materials known to us, this competent and well written monograph satisfies a longtime need for a synthesis of this important problem in German history. The peer of German Catholic historians, Schnabel, never reached this period in his great work on Germany in the nineteenth century; and Carl Bachem's second volume of his history of the Center Party, for all its new material and wise insights, was too much the work of a party member and journalist to be really adequate. The biographies of Catholic leaders in this period are generally unsatisfactory; even Ludwig von Pastor's reputation would suffer if he were to be judged by his massive life of August Reichensperger. So the appearance of this study should remind scholars how little critical writing has been done on this and on other periods in the history of German political Catholicism.

The author retells with fine objectivity how Catholic spokesmen identified their Church with Austria's hopeless efforts to preserve her position in Germany so as to check the advance of Protestant Prussia and political liberalism. But even after the decisive Prussian victory in 1866,

and despite the considerable freedom enjoyed by the Catholic Church in Prussia, only rare individuals like Bishop Ketteler, Peter Reichensperger, and Edmund Jörg favored a union of the more Catholic states of the south with Bismarck's new North German Confederation. Instead, representative Catholics in Bavaria, Baden, and Württemberg usually headed the ever-growing political opposition to such a union, though their thinking never produced a realistic plan for the future existence of these states in a Europe where power meant so much.

It is Mr. Wendell's thesis that this Catholic opposition played a far greater role in Bismarck's decision to provoke war with Napoleonic France than historians have hitherto realized. He feels that it was a major factor in the Prussian statesman's war policy, since Bismarck felt an immediate need to counteract this anti-Prussian bias by the creation of a common national feeling through a popular conflict with France. Mr. Wendell is rightly cautious not to cite this as the decisive factor; France would have been a probable barrier to unification regardless of south German Catholic sentiment. More open to criticism is his tendency to express this southern opposition in essentially religious terms. As all Catholic political leaders from Windthorst to Adenauer have learned, Bavarians have been restless under all forms of central authority, whether exercised by a Catholic party chairman, a Protestant king-emperor, or a left-wing majority in the Reichstag.

The merits of this work lie also in its thoughtful criticism. The mere fact that Catholic leaders succeeded in forming a great national Catholic party out of disparate political and social elements testifies not only to their abilities and earlier painful groundwork, but also their sound fear of the dominant liberal parties in the new Reich. But the author rightly asks what might have been Bismarck's policy after 1871 if Catholic representatives had not identified their Church with an anti-Bismarckian policy and then pressed him on sensitive constitutional and foreign issues? This reviewer feels that Bismarck, regardless of past Catholic attitudes, would have given some ground to the liberals in cultural matters, if only because they were a political force. But for a similar reason, the presence of an organized political Catholic community which had not always obstructed him, Bismarck might not have decided to take the route of the *Kulturkampf*. This study certainly demonstrates a progressive waning of Bismarckian goodwill toward the Church as his experiences proved more and more sour.

It is not unfavorable criticism to point out that any evaluation of a Catholic policy, which was often unrealistic, suggests certain questions which the author has not posed. What relation was there between this policy and the social and intellectual status of the German Catholic community? To what extent was this community in a position to produce

lay Catholic political leaders and publicists? This reviewer hopes that Mr. Wendell will concern himself with these questions in another work on German political Catholicism. He has gotten off to a good start.

JOHN K. ZEENDER

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Die katholisch-soziale Bewegung Deutschlands im 19. Jahrhundert und der Volksverein. By Emil Ritter. (Köln: Verlag J. P. Bachem. 1954. Pp. 525. DM 19.50.)

Central European thought was submitted to the test and failed in World War I, while the following fifteen years of transition, 1918-1933, were spent in desperate efforts to adjust the nineteenth century's political ideas to twentieth-century social needs. But in Germany it was not before 1933 that an entirely new, merciless, and brutal era started. Muenchen-Gladbach, from 1890 to 1933 the headquarters and symbol of the Volksverein fuer das katholische Deutschland and the world-renowned trademark of German Catholic social thought and action, did not survive. But it was fully vindicated after twelve more years of trial. Emil Ritter's excellent book gives reliable and competent guidance toward a better understanding of the sometimes complex and sometimes badly misinterpreted history of Catholic social thought in German-speaking countries.

Whether or not the Volksverein's final bankruptcy could have been avoided without the tragic events of 1933 and the interference of national-socialist violence remains an open question (p. 467). In any case, as Edgar Alexander has said, "Up to its destruction in 1933, the 'Volksverein' thus functioned as the most powerful and beneficial instrument of German Catholicism for the education in social and political action. . . . Accordingly the name of 'Muenchen-Gladbach' became quasi-synonymous with the social and political realism of the German Catholics." [Joseph N. Moody (Ed.), *Church and Society* (New York, 1953), pp. 429-430.] However, realism in this context must not be put in juxtaposition to the so-called idealism or romanticism of the Catholic integralists who were sometimes held responsible for the confusion and later disaster. If not for other reasons, rather than because of them—as we meanwhile learned from dire experience—the realists did not fare any better and, like their conservative opponents, they fell victims to *force majeure*. Both schools of thought should be judged in their surroundings; both deserve credit for having laid the solid groundwork from which a new generation could start after the former period had drawn to a close.

Emil Ritter, once on the staff at Muenchen-Gladbach, former editor of the weekly *Der deutsche Weg*, and by 1933 editor-in-chief of the Catholic daily, *Germania*, as well as his publishers, deserve great credit for a brilliant job which has put German political and social Catholicism in correct perspective, apt to correct unfortunate misinterpretations. The first and fundamental part of the book under review traces the origins of the Catholic social movement in Germany up to the beginnings of the rule of William II. Here the author does full justice to German romanticism as the historic reaction to abortive revolution, anarchy, and enlightenment, a concept "just as far away from centralist state-absolutism as from its liberal-constitutional counterpart" (p. 30). Karl von Vogelsang's relations to Franz Hitze (p. 56) and the social spadework, despite some time-conditioned extremism, are duly acknowledged. At the same time the author makes it abundantly clear that Anton Orel and Othmar Spann—sometimes mistakenly identified with the Viennese school of social thought—are by no means representative of the former Austrian Christian social movement (p. 394).

The second part of the volume deals with the impressive record of Muenchen-Gladbach and its affiliated branch organizations up to the end of World War I. Those interested in Catholic social activities among university students will find it inspiring to read about the late Father Sonnenschein's successful efforts in social action among the students (Sozialstudentische Bewegung). The third and last part describes the achievements, splits of opinion, and katabasis in the period between the wars. There was wide cleavage in the realm of politics, where coalition of the Center Party with left or right was the hot issue. This problem became even more controversial because of the quasi-federal structure of Weimar Germany. Thus the Volksverein soon found itself in an extremely delicate position and there was no solution for this dilemma. Political tactics and manoeuvres, in whatever direction, could not possibly overcome the national and international crisis which was heading for revolution.

Of special interest to American readers will be a list of foreign visitors and students to Muenchen-Gladbach before and after 1918 (p. 248). Among the American names one finds Bishop Schrembs of Toledo, the Archbishop of San Francisco with fourteen seminarians, John B. Oelkers, president of the Zentralverein of Newark, New Jersey, Edward F. Garesché, S.J., and Frederic Siedenburg, S.J., both from St. Louis. Father Siedenburg had registered in 1909 for a three-month research project in Muenchen-Gladbach. The author describes him mistakenly as a "later minister of labor in the state of Detroit"! It is worth recalling that the Muenchen-Gladbach pattern eventually inspired similar Catholic organizations in Austria (Volksbund), Hungary, Czechoslovakia (Father Reichenberger), Luxemburg, Holland (Katholieke Sociale Actie), Spain, Portu-

gal, Italy—until 1922—Switzerland, among the German settlers in southern Brazil, and in other Latin American countries. The Catholic Social Guild, founded in England in 1909, lacked mass support, whereas in the United States, as the author dryly comments, the Volksverein concept met with no response (p. 250). Small wonder, for this is a different world.

Is it not the noble task of Catholic social action to help in finding the right answer at the right place in the right time, for service to man and his material and spiritual welfare? The first requirement in such a program remains an exact knowledge and an understanding evaluation of the history, structure, and opportunities of a given national society. Works like that of Emil Ritter make a valuable contribution to the promotion of a program of this kind and also to international Catholic understanding.

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Church and State in Czechoslovakia. By Lucvík Nemec. (New York: Vantage Press, Inc., 1955. Pp. xii, 577. $5.00.)

The Catholic Church has suffered many persecutions at many different hands. From Nero to Hitler ingenious men have tried hard to destroy or cripple it. But today the historian observes the Church undergoing a new trial, the trial of communist oppression. It is true that some Roman Catholics were involved in the persecution which marked the Bolshevist triumph in Russia, but there were comparatively few of them within the Soviet Union's pre-1939 frontiers. Today the advance of the red standards to the Elbe and the Adriatic has placed millions of Roman Catholics under the hammer and sickle of communist dictatorship. The attitude of the communist state toward a Catholic majority is, therefore, a phenomenon, interesting to the historian, the sociologist, and the political scientist.

What does happen to Catholics when an avowedly militant atheist group seizes power over a predominantly Catholic people? How are Catholics today doing in Poland, Lithuania, East Germany, or Czechoslovakia? How can they get along with so hostile a government? Can the Church maintain an open existence? How far can Catholics compromise with such a state? Father Němec tries to tell us how things are in that unfortunate country. What is going on in Czechoslovakia? First of all, the Church is not proscribed. Mass is said; the sacraments are administered. The communists' opening move seems to be an attempt to control the Church and reduce it to the status of a subservient department of the state, or, failing in that, to weaken it by dividing it. They work hard at this and very

shrewdly, too. They do not demand apostasy or death; they ask for a little at a time. It is easy to see how even good priests could be taken in by specious promises, especially when they feel that only by giving in a little can they save their flock. The communist government makes every effort to keep them misinformed. It is no surprise to find that the free Catholic press is destroyed. But not content with making it difficult for the hierarchy to communicate with priests and people, the communists have forced a controlled "Catholic" press on the Czechs. The role of the government-sponsored *Bulletin of the Catholic Clergy* is to "give the clergy a proper basis for orientation and will provide all important means of repairing the harm done to the Church by some individuals of the Catholic hierarchy." Small wonder the courageous Joseph Beran, Archbishop of Prague, protested against this gift to the clergy from a solicitous government! A false Catholic Action group was also set up as another government project. And, of course, Catholic schools were reduced to a few show pieces, and even seminaries were brought under communist control. And while everything is done to confuse the clergy, the government dangles the carrot of better pay before those priests who agree to co-operate and brandishes the big stick of prison before those who dare to speak out. Nor is prison an empty threat. Several bishops and numerous priests and laymen have been jailed.

Such is the general picture which Father Němec paints of Church-State relationships in Czechoslovakia after 1949. The author gives copious extracts from numerous sources, some of which are particularly valuable because of their comparative inaccessibility. He spends much time building up the canonical and historical background. The book is equipped with a good index and bibliography. There are a few interesting photographs. Although *Church and State in Czechoslovakia* is not a book that is easy to read, it is worthwhile.

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AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

Geschichte der katholischen Kirche in den Vereinigten Staaten. By Ludwig Hertling, S.J. (Berlin: Morus Verlag. 1954. Pp. ix, 333. DM 14,80 and DM 17,80.)

The author of this volume asserts in his introduction that he intended it for European readers since the history of the Church in the United

States is not as well known as it deserves to be. Among the more than 12,000 visitors from Germany who have been invited in recent years by the American government to study life and institutions in the United States, there have been a great number of German Catholics who, having become acquainted with the GIs during the American occupation of their country, have also become interested in American Catholic life and organization. Many prejudices and inaccuracies concerning the development and administration of the American Church could have been dissipated by a book of this kind which would, in turn, have led to better understanding for all concerned. While Father Hertling's volume is easy reading and is always interesting, some of the chapters have been spun out so far that they resemble more an effort in journalism than in solid history.

The author tries to bring the Church into close relation to the geographical and historical conditions, and he carries the reader from the early organization at the end of the eighteenth century in the eastern states to the South, the Southwest, and California. But the reader misses a similar description of the Church in the Middle West. This omission is the more obvious since states like Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, and the Dakotas had a heavy German immigration and developed flourishing German settlements. Since the volume was primarily intended for readers of German, Austrian, and German-Swiss descent, this reviewer believes that these readers would not only wish to know, but have a right to know, how their compatriots fared in the new world. It is not enough to record German complaints concerning demands for German priests, schools, and parishes. German readers abroad also want to hear about their countrymen's contributions to their new homeland. This would have been the place to point out the difficulties and struggles of the German immigrants, especially since the merits of the non-Catholics have been praised *usque ad nauseam* from the viewpoint of German nationalism.

Another subject that should have been emphasized was the brutal press assaults made upon the German Catholics in the United States by their own countrymen, and the defamations of their clubs which were fostered by the anti-Catholic politics in the old country. Against attacks of this kind priests and laymen had to protect themselves and the religious faith of their families. Long before religious sociology had formulated its theories concerning the way faith is affected by its environment, these German priests and laymen knew that the immigrants' religious beliefs would be best preserved by their traditional customs and language. The history of the Catholic Church in the United States cannot be fairly written until these sad decades of the mid-century have been thoroughly studied. This period of tragic misunderstanding of the German Catholic situation deserves the gratitude of all Catholics and should not be for-

gotten or neglected. If Orestes Brownson receives a full chapter for his high merits, then Maximilian Oertel, Arthur Preuss, Francis P. Kenkel, and Joseph Matt likewise deserve honorable mention, and not only Francis X. Weninger, S.J.

Concerning the quality of the German Catholic immigrants to this country, the reviewer would differ seriously with the author (p. 172). The majority of these immigrants, beginning with the first organized immigration to Texas in 1846—which is not mentioned in this book—up to the present time, were either skilled craftsmen or small farmers who sought only a piece of land and a home. Another contribution of the German Catholic immigrants that should have been mentioned were the orphan asylums and hospitals which they built. The German Roman Catholic Central Verein, founded in 1855 (not 1857), started as a purely charitable organization.

A further omission is an account of the establishment and growth of the Church in the New England states. The author limits himself to the remark that the great increase of Catholicism in New England began in the second half of the century and that the territory of the original Diocese of Boston is now divided into nine dioceses (p. 76). There is no mention, moreover, of the founding of the American College at Louvain in 1857 where a large number of priests who served on the German missions of this country were trained. Nor is there any mention of the founding in 1859 of the American College in Rome, or of the national American Church of Santa Susanna in the Eternal City. One also misses any discussion of the participation of the American hierarchy in the Vatican Council. Likewise some treatment should have been given to the origins and growth of immigration from the countries of eastern Europe, of the founding and development of the Byzantine Rite in the United States, first established in 1913 with one diocese, of the Greek Rite established on a diocesan basis in 1924, of the Church in Alaska, Guam, Puerto Rico, and Hawaii. The names of the different religious orders that conduct the Catholic colleges and universities should also have been given (p. 257). No mention is made of the Benedictines who came to the United States in 1846, nor of the Dominicans who established a novitiate as early as 1806. A list of the sisterhoods that came from Germany, Austria, and Switzerland would also have been appropriate since the School Sisters of Notre Dame from Regensburg were only the first to reach the United States from German-speaking lands.

A number of errors should be corrected if this book goes into a second edition. E.g., pastoral care for the Italian immigrants was first inaugurated by the Pallottines who started in New York in 1884 and soon spread to other states, and not by the Scalabrinis (p. 171). The correct name of the settlement in St. Mary's County, Maryland, is Leonardtown (p. 17);

the Sixth Provincial Council of Baltimore was held in 1846 (p. 84); the *Pastoralblatt* was founded in St. Louis in 1866 and not in Milwaukee; the public schools are not *religionsfeindlich* "hostile to religion," but *religionslos* or non-sectarian (p. 222); retreats for public school children are conducted in *many* cities (p. 251); it is not correct to speak of there being "no slums any more" in the United States (p. 273). On page 268 it should be added that in 1939 a diocesan priest, M. Howard Bishop, founded a society of priests, brothers, and sisters, generally called Glenmary Missioners, to help establish the Church in rural communities which is now operating in nine large mission areas. In the discussion of American churches no mention is made of the beautiful cathedrals that are to be found in Washington, Milwaukee, and St. Paul. By comparison with Germany, where for a century not one monumental church or shrine has been erected, the American Church can list hundreds of beautiful (not *huebsche* or "pretty") church buildings (p. 280). The office building of the N.C.W.C. is not located opposite St. Matthew's Cathedral in Washington but is a quarter of an hour distant (p. 287). Attempts to establish a daily Catholic newspaper have been made but have proved unsuccessful primarily for financial reasons (p. 290). Here, too, the *Catholic Worker* and the special publications for the colored should have been mentioned. In the bibliography the Sulpician, Jean Dilhet, should have been credited with his *Etat de l'église Catholique et de l'Amérique septentrionale,* edited by Patrick W. Browne (Washington, 1922), as the first attempt at a history of the Church in this country; likewise omitted is John Paul Cadden's valuable *Historiography of the American Catholic Church, 1785-1943* (Washington, 1944). Finally, in a new edition Father Hertling should furnish his readers with proper equivalents for such terms as Americanisms, auxiliary bishop, Episcopalians, denominations, *terna,* chaplain, vicar, etc., and add a table giving the present statistics on the American hierarchy, priests, sisters, schools, institutions, and Catholic population.

The author is to be thanked for writing this volume for the increasing number of readers in German-speaking countries who are interested in American Catholicism. It is to be sincerely hoped that a new edition will bring to Father Hertling and to the United States many new friends among his readers abroad.

GEORGE TIMPE

Pallottine House of Studies
Washington

Protestant—Catholic—Jew; An Essay in American Religious Sociology. By Will Herberg. (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., Inc. 1955. Pp. 320. $4.00.)

The moral import of Mr. Herberg's essay is an indictment of "the secularism of a religious people," but its basic thesis, which is historical and sociological, is "that both the religiousness and the secularism of the American people derive from very much the same sources" (p. 15). Analysis of this seeming paradox leads immediately to a search for the distinctive character of American religion and to an investigation of the status of religion in American society. The findings and conceptual tools of Oscar Handlin, Marcus Hansen, H. Richard Niebuhr, David Riesman, W. Lloyd Warner, Robin Williams, and others are used to advantage. In fact, a particular merit of the work is its use of the contributions of these scholars insofar as they bear upon the problem under examination. The sociological insight which is achieved could be applied fruitfully to many other aspects of American religious institutions.

The immigrants, who—in Handlin's phrase—*were* American history, left behind them the security of traditional identifications. Obviously they could not be assimilated in the Anglo-American image within their generation. They found a new identification through the ethnic group, which the second generation not infrequently regarded as a stumbling block. Herberg, noting the evidence of sociological research which is not yet extensive or convincing enough to be really definitive, holds that the religious group—Protestant, Catholic, or Jewish—is the successor of the ethnic group in providing social identification for the third generation which is now predominant.

There are many signs that religion enjoys an enhanced standing in contemporary American thought. But what is the nature of "American religion" as found in the three branches which are socially recognized? Within the respective limits of the three traditions, it tends to be non-theological, non-liturgical, and activistic. Herberg finds it to be often man-centered, reflecting the amazingly high valuation which Americans place upon their own virtue and a middle-class "secularized Puritanism" (p. 94) in which "the American Way of Life is the operative faith of the American people" (p. 88). The current religious resurgence is interpreted largely as a valuation of religion as "a good thing" in an age of other-direction. Protestantism, Catholicism, and Judaism are its legitimate American expressions. The secularism of the national community, it seems, has incorporated religious institutions into its own structure.

This is strong, and not uniformly applicable, as Herberg concedes, and necessarily difficult of proof, yet it is plausible enough. By way of criticism —apart from a number of minor factual errors in the sketch of American

Catholicism which do not affect the author's thesis—a question should be raised concerning the concept of the three religious sub-communities. Is their role in providing social identification really as primary as suggested? Certainly Protestants, Catholics, and Jews do not have social power in proportion to their respective numbers. Sociologists have been inclined to treat social class as more decisive in determining the structure of American communities, while stressing the interplay of ethnic and religious factors with others in prestige evaluations. These dynamic relationships require much study. It is more than an ordinary achievement to have formulated the hypotheses about them which are advanced in this book.

C. Joseph Nuesse

The Catholic University of America

Bartolomé de Las Casas (1474-1566): Bibliográfia crítica y cuerpo de materiales para el estudio de su vida, escritos, actuación y polémicas que suscitaron durante cuatro siglos. By Lewis Hanke and Manuel Gimenez Fernandez. (Santiago de Chile: Fondo historíco y bibliográfico José Toribio Medina. 1954. Pp. xxxvii, 394.)

In 1933 Earl J. Hamilton, today a renowned economic analyst of Spain's golden age empire, wrote to the primary author of this book, Lewis Hanke, "I hope you will soon get Las Casas out of your system." At the moment both men were emerging from doctoral studies, one with his lifework in hand, the other with a future. Happily for scholarship the recipient of this friendly warning took the rain on his back and continued his course. Reversing the advice, he began to dig Las Casas out of the system of 400 years of wrangling. For he was looking for something deeper. Suddenly it came to light, and the individual became the symbol of a greater truth. Las Casas was but one—indeed, widely accused and most provocative—of a group of Spaniards who were trying to guide the conquest of the new world in line with equitable and Christian principles. This hypothesis induced him to bring out a number of challenging studies on the highly original thoughts and theories of his subject. Not unlike W. P. Webb whose *Great Frontier* met with a mere nod of approval, only to become a fundamental for today's teaching and writing on the Atlantic community, Hanke had his critics. To them he seemed lost in the study of the single man. Yet the meaning of Las Casas far transcends the eulogy or condemnation of four centuries of historians. He belonged to that remarkable body of genius that probed the anatomy of the imperial venture, and in so doing opened up a vast development in intellectual history. The *Santa Maria*, the *Casa de Contratación*, the New

Laws of 1542, the ethics, politics, and international law of that day all tie in with the hand that edited the diary of Columbus.

Thus far the contribution of Lewis Hanke, editorial and critical. He now spreads out his materials for others to use in this magnificent bibliography of the noted Dominican. Every known product of Las Casas, either from his own pen—and he wrote the equivalent of 8,000 folio pages—or from his copyings, commentators, supporters, or antagonists is here arranged in scientific cataloguing from 1512 down to our time. The index lists 669 authors with close to 900 entries. Clarifying and evaluative judgments illustrate titles and contents. Provenance is always indicated, strikingly in the *Breve relación* and the frontispieces of its many editions. Throughout runs the unifying theme, the ferment of sixteenth-century debate on the problem then paramount in Spain, the struggle for justice in her empire. That debate belongs among the most stirring forces in the making of modern thought.

The preface begins with a splendid brief biography of Las Casas. A short section exhibits the sharp differences of opinion on his place in history. Then under the heading, "Mi vida con Las Casas, 1930-1953," Hanke notes that this will be his final word on Las Casas. Few will accept that intention without regret. He has, however, sound justification. For his larger purposes, he finds a compelling subject in the Villa Imperial de Potosi. Perhaps he sees there a more brilliant illustration of the basic struggle. Spain had the first frontier beyond the seas, the largest, and the most highly charged. The test of administration should complement the hypotheses of theory. His contribution to data assures a rewarding experience in the days to come.

W. Eugene Shiels

Xavier University
Cincinnati

The Mission Frontier in Sonora, 1620-1687. By John Francis Bannon, S.J. [Monograph Series XXVI.] (New York: United States Catholic Historical Society. 1955. Pp. x, 160. $3.00.)

It would seem that a history of missionary activity divorced from that of the personalities involved makes for heavy if not dull reading. Unfortunately, Father Bannon's scholarly account of the Jesuit missions in northwestern Mexico suffers from this lack of human interest. The weakness of this volume lies not so much with the author as with the sources which generally fail to sketch the characters of the individual padres. As

a result there emerges the picture of a score or more of hard-working, devoted, and kindly priests who achieved some astonishing successes in Christianizing the Indians of Sonora. But to the reader these missionaries remain names and little else. The author displays his literary talents best in describing Indian life, Jesuit-lay relations, and Sonora's wars and politics, events on the periphery of the work's principal theme.

Sonora proved one of the most successful Jesuit mission fields in all of North America. Indian culture was superior and Indian lands were more fertile here than in more southerly Sinaloa. The opening decades of work in the country, the 1620's and 1630's, witnessed swift progress and permanent consolidation. By the 1640's the heart of Sonora counted 20,000 Christian converts, and by 1653 the total reached over 37,000, concentrated in thirty-nine pueblos. This accomplishment is especially impressive when one realizes that seldom more than fifteen priests were laboring in the field at one time. Critical years followed these successes as a manpower shortage developed. Vocations fell off in Spain, and recruits could not be obtained in sufficient numbers from New Spain. The mother country's monopolistic immigration policy prevented the use of foreign missionaries until after 1664 when a limited number of German, Netherlander, and Italian Jesuits were granted entry. These "aliens" were to lead the great expansionist movement of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The 1680's, however, "marked a turning point in the history of the northwestern frontier of colonial New Spain." Two new forces appeared in Sonora: Father Eusebio Kino who would push the left flank of the mission field on toward California; and the Apaches and their allies who would force the right flank on to the defensive and prevent the expected link-up between the Western Slope and New Mexico.

Father Bannon has produced a thorough piece of work in filling one of the major remaining gaps in the story of Jesuit enterprise in colonial New Spain—missionary activity in pre-Kino Sonora.

KARL M. SCHMITT

Washington, D. C.

Palou's Life of Fray Junípero Serra. Translated and Annotated by Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M. (Washington: Academy of American Franciscan History. 1955. Pp. xxx, 547. $8.50.)

"This new translation," Father Geiger explains in his foreword, ". . . is an outgrowth of the intense historical research carried on between the years 1943 and 1949 as part of the beatification process of Father Serra."

It might be added that this research will also bear fruit in a scholarly and probably definitive biography of Serra which, it is reported, Father Geiger will publish soon. This is an event awaited with equal interest by scholars and the devout public alike. No one is better qualified to speak with authority on the life and career of the president of the California missions. Father Geiger is, in the first place, a thoroughly trained and competent scholar. Since 1937 he has been in charge of the archives at Santa Barbara Mission, where the bulk of the Serra documents in this country are preserved. He is a member of the historical commission of the Diocese of Monterey-Fresno, charged with the task of gathering all the historical documents bearing in any way upon Serra's life and work. He has searched the archives of Mexico and Spain, and extended his researches to Mallorca, the island of Serra's birth.

The rich harvest of these labors is evidenced in the new translation of Palou's famous and indispensable life of his companion and leader, and especially in the twenty-one pages of bibliography and 188 pages of notes with which this sumptuous volume is supplied. The notes are particularly interesting. Historical students will be delighted with their meticulous detail and objectivity. Many of them are little essays on sources and background which are masterpieces of condensation and informativeness.

Palou, like any historical document, must, of course, be read critically if one is to derive the greatest value from his narrative. His memory of events, many of which had occurred long years before he wrote, was not always trustworthy. At times, too, he did not fully understand the complicated affairs he was describing. Finally, it must be admitted, he was not altogether free from that *ira et studio* to which participants in the drama they unfold are peculiarly prone. A case in point is the story of the famous conflict of authority between the Father President of the Missions and the Spanish Governor of California, Felipe de Neve. Palou is mistaken in stating that Neve insisted on attaching his *pase* to the papal document granting Serra the right to administer the sacrament of confirmation (p. 212). Neve simply insisted on establishing that the required ones had already been attached to the document. Father Geiger's explanation that the governor felt a new *pase* was required because of the setting up of the *provincias internas* is, therefore, untenable. The relevant conversation between Neve and Serra, to which Palou alludes, and which Father Geiger was unable to date (p. 454, n. 13), occurred on September 20, 1779. Palou does not reveal—perhaps, he did not know—that this dispute was conducted chiefly by correspondence. Father Serra's letters are dated at San Carlos on September 17 and 24. Neve's replies were written at Monterey on September 19 and 25.

Flaws such as these, however, are rare and minor. Father Geiger's scholarship is as nearly impeccable as anyone could ask. In general the volume is most impressive. The translation leaves little to be desired as to its clarity and readability. The notes are a mine of rich primary materials. The bibliography, though not annotated, is satisfyingly full. Both the binding and printing are of highest quality. In short, the new Palou is a book of which the Academy of American Franciscan History can be justly proud, and one which libraries and private individuals will be glad to possess.

EDWIN A. BEILHARZ

University of Santa Clara

Acadian Odyssey. By Oscar William Winzerling. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1955. Pp. xiv, 224. $4.85.)

This slender volume is not, as the title suggests, a general account of the Acadians after their expulsion from their homeland in 1755. It is rather the story of those exiles who eventually found their way to France where for twenty-eight years they were the victims of the neglect and procrastination of an impoverished French government, until the efforts of devoted individuals and the interests of Spain effected their transfer to Louisiana in 1785. The narrative is based on copious original sources in national and private archives, supplemented by field work in the communities and areas here and abroad where these unfortunates sounded the depths of misery.

By way of background the author investigates the origin of the name, and sketches the history of these people prior to the catastrophe of 1755. In so doing he reveals the impossible position that was theirs "on the chessboard of international rivalry." He concedes that usuage sanctioned expulsion as a war measure, but he insists that in this instance it was an extreme measure inasmuch as it involved thousands of people. Moreover, it was carried into effect by Governor Charles Lawrence with wanton cruelty and callous disregard of human rights. Scattered from Massachusetts to Georgia, these penniless unfortunates quickly discovered that they were not wanted. Virginia regarded her assignment as prisoners of war and abruptly sent them to England where captivity of seven years' duration intervened before they eventually reached France. Another group was sent directly to France, while individuals escaped from the North American seaboard colonies and came to France. It is these several groups located in France, but ever hopeful of returning to America, a hope to be realized only after nearly three decades, that claim the attention

of the author. Step by step he chronicles their experiences until they arrived in France, and then he traces their fortunes in the maritime towns, the several abortive schemes for settling them in France, in Corsica, in the Caribbean islands, and finally the plan for ridding France of this unassimilable element. From time to time individuals interested themselves in these people but with no success until the Frenchman Peyroux de la Coudrenière, and the Spaniards Manuel D'Aspres, consul in St. Malo, Count Aranda, ambassador in Paris, and Martin Navarro, intendant in Louisiana, took advantage of Spain's desire to populate her newly acquired colony of Louisiana, and effected their transfer to the new world in seven expeditions in 1785. Thus their wanderings came to a happy ending in the possession of homes and property in a land that welcomed them.

This recital is depressing reading, for it is a sad commentary on the ways of men when self-interest, greed, and a blind nationalism are their guiding principles to the exclusion of Christian charity and humanitarianism. The picture is relieved, however, by the four individuals who proved themselves saviors to this remnant of a people. Because of the nature of the subject the author was wise in substantiating his text of 159 pages with no less than thirty-five pages of references and seven appendices. This indicates the thoroughness of the research and the scholarly character of the book. Of particular interest and value to the student of the history of our country is the census and distribution of the Acadians in the British colonies drawn up by Sieur de la Rochette (p. 45).

CHARLES H. METSGER

West Baden College

George Anthony Belcourt, Pioneer Catholic Missionary of the Northwest, 1803-1874. By James Michael Reardon. (St. Paul: North Central Publishing Co. 1955. Pp. xiii, 223.)

Monsignor Reardon has written the life of a pioneer missionary whose work was built on sand. Ordained in 1827, Father Belcourt desired a missionary's life in the Red River Valley, only to be assigned to parish work in the district of Montreal. But four years later when granted his longing, he obeyed only reluctantly and arrived in the Winnipeg-St. Boniface area to labor for seventeen years. He learned the Indian language even better than the Indians themselves, and he compiled an excellent Indian dictionary. With the Indians and half-breeds Belcourt was popular and influential, but with Bishop Joseph Provencher, his superior, he was not. There was no flagrant disobedience, but prelate and priest failed to see

eye to eye on almost every issue. Father Belcourt tried to make settled agriculturists out of the nomadic hunters and give them Christianity with civilization. The bishop thought a priest's duty was to teach Christianity rather than to make farmers. Trouble with fellow priests and finally the wrath of the Hudson's Bay Company made his recall to Quebec in 1848 the only alternative. His work soon collapsed.

In 1849 Father Belcourt was sent by Bishop Loras of Dubuque to Pembina in northeastern North Dakota. Among the Indians and half-breeds he taught catechism, started schools, erected buildings, encouraged agriculture, even accompanied them on the long buffalo hunts. In 1851 Bishop Cretin found that Belcourt was one of the three priests in the new Diocese of St. Paul. He worked briefly with Fathers Albert Lacombe, John Fayolee, and Joseph Goiffon, but their relations were not always cordial. In 1859 Belcourt was forced to leave the diocese; despite his intense desire, he was never allowed to return. Again his works failed. The sisters he had founded were disbanded, his buildings were neglected, the settlement at St. Joseph (Walhalla) failed to prosper. He spent his remaining years in parishes on Prince Edward Island and the Magdalen Islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence where he died in 1874.

In places the author's skill as an orator and eulogist obscures his tasks as an historian. Some of the text might be placed more properly in the footnotes (collected in the back), especially the *obiter dicta* and the sources of information. The switching of tenses is sometimes annoying; occasionally, the narrative slips away from Father Belcourt to follow an interesting side issue. The book has a good index, eight illustrations, but no maps; even a sketchy one would have helped considerably. On page 205, "Vol. 111" should be "Vol. III." Notwithstanding, Monsignor Reardon has succeeded in his aim "to perpetuate the memory" of a pioneer missionary of the Northwest.

PAUL ZYLLA

St. John's Seminary
Collegeville

The Heart of Father Damien. By Vital Jourdain, SS.CC. Translated by Francis Larkin, SS.CC., and Charles Davenport. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1955. Pp. x, 438. $4.75.)

Since his death in 1889, Father Damien de Veuster has been the subject of numerous biographies in many languages. But this first English translation of the recently revised *Le Père Damien de Veuster, apôtre des lépreux,* originally published in 1931, proves to be the most accurate, if

not the most extensive, of them all. In his foreword to this volume the Apostolic Delegate to the United States hails the book for bringing ". . . new light to the well-known facts and drawing from previously unpublished sources additional information . . ." about the leper priest. This is, indeed, the case. Damien's own notebook is used extensively, and a wealth of data are drawn from the archives of the generalate of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts—data hitherto unavailable to Damien's biographers.

Many of the legends that have grown up around the life of Damien are exploded, and a new insight is presented to the life of this martyr of Christian charity. His apparent disagreement with his superiors, his conflicts with certain officials of the Hawaiian government, and the attacks made by some of his contemporaries on his moral character are all frankly and competently treated. Moreover, the Stevenson letter and the controversy accompanying it are fully studied.

The English translation is more than adequate. However, this reader cannot agree with the translators that the footnotes should have been omitted "to avoid reference-cluttered pages" (p. vii). This fine volume would be immeasurably more useful to the serious student had the writer (or translators) provided footnote citations for the many quotations, direct and indirect, from both primary and secondary sources.

The attractive format is enhanced by a series of helpful photographs throughout the book, including a striking picture of Damien on his deathbed. In brief, it can be said that the author and translators have given us the most complete story of Damien thus far available in English.

ROBERT E. CARSON

Saint Michael's Priory
Green Bay

Chiniquy. By Marcel Trudel. (Trois-Rivières: Editions du Bien Public. 1955. Pp. xxxviii, 339. $3.50.)

After *The Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk*, probably the most notorious anti-Catholic book published in nineteenth-century America, is Charles Chiniquy's *Fifty Years in the Church of Rome* (Chicago, 1885). A priest of the Archdiocese of Quebec, Chiniquy early gained fame, through his sermons on temperance, as the Father Mathew of Canada. For violations of his vow of chastity he was compelled to leave first the Archdiocese of Quebec, then that of Montreal. Similar sins caused his suspension and excommunication in the Diocese of Chicago. Chiniquy thereupon created

a schism, set up the "Christian Catholic Church," and then led his followers into the Presbyterian Church. Expelled from the Presbyterian Synod of Chicago, Chiniquy was accepted into the ministry of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, and soon rejoiced in the title of the Luther of Canada.

Chiniquy's career as an "ex-priest" differed from many another only in its length, its financial rewards, and the success of his writings. Active almost to the end, he died in Montreal in 1899 at the advanced age of ninety. He had carried on his campaign against the Church not only in the United States and Canada, but through Europe and Australia. His books, especially the autobiographical (with a large admixture of fiction) *Fifty Years in the Church of Rome* and *Forty Years in the Church of Christ* (Chicago, 1900), are still in print, and in a number of languages.

Dr. Trudel, professor of Canadian history at Laval University, disclaims the intention of writing a definitive biography of Chiniquy. Yet he presents and amply documents, almost exclusively from French Canadian sources, a portrait of the apostate which differs quite radically from that of the autobiography. A reading of this book by a fair-minded person would completely discredit Chiniquy and his slanders against the Church. It need not be said that the people who read Chiniquy are scarcely fair-minded. Nevertheless, it is good to have this book on hand if ever the name of Chiniquy rises from its almost total oblivion.

FRANCIS X. CURRAN

Loyola Seminary
Shrub Oak

Three Archbishops of Milwaukee. By Benjamin J. Blied. (Milwaukee: The Author. 1955. Pp. 160. $4.00.)

The subjects of the three essays that make up this paper-bound volume are Michael Heiss, Frederick Katzer, and Sebastian Messmer, successively metropolitans of the Archdiocese of Milwaukee from 1881 to 1930. Father Blied labored under certain handicaps in preparing these brief biographical sketches since little literature exists concerning the subjects; likewise, but few of the archbishops' papers and documents remain. These essays, already published in shorter form in magazines, serve an exploratory purpose and help to present a more balanced picture of a sometimes turbulent era in the history of the Catholic Church of the United States. Much of the literature heretofore published on the period focuses attention on the interests of those with whom the Archbishops of Milwaukee often had differences.

The three biographical sketches give some background on the lives of the archbishops, and especially in the cases of Heiss and Katzer, emphasize their point of view on such issues as that of education, the development of the Catholic University of America, secret societies, and the question of "Americanism" in the Church. Messmer's tenure as leader of the Archdiocese of Milwaukee is treated in greater detail with more attention directed to the local scene, although Messmer's attitude toward prohibition and socialism are stressed. The presence of a somewhat strong socialistic element in Milwaukee helps to explain the prelate's early negative stand against labor unions because of socialistic tendencies and domination. Father Blied is to be commended for his efforts to throw greater light on the issues of moment in the Church of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in this country. The so-called "conservative" side of these issues has been too little explored, and Wisconsin, perhaps more than any other place, reflected conservative views.

Because of the limitations noted above no bibliography appears in the book, although lengthy quotations and explanatory footnotes do at times help to overcome this deficiency. The index is adequate for this type of work. Incidentally, it would seem desirable that the first names of persons should be used in the body of the book rather than make it necessary for the reader to refer to the index for these names. It is to be hoped that this initial effort of Father Blied may be followed by more extensive and exhaustive studies of a segment of American Catholic life that does much to help explain the Catholic scene in the United States today.

FRANCIS HUELLER

Queen of Apostles Seminary
Madison

The History of the Sisters of Divine Providence, San Antonio, Texas. By Sister Mary Generosa Callahan, C.D.P. (Milwaukee: Bruce Press: 1955. Pp. xv, 304. $6.50.)

Many of the growing number of those interested in the history of the Catholic Church in the United States will be pleased at what they read in the pages of this book. They will, I believe, be measurably heartened at this latest proof that a devoted daughter of a religious congregation may be equally devoted to the cause of truth when writing the history of her own sisterhood. Sister Mary Generosa's history of the Sisters of Divine Providence of San Antonio, Texas, is another steady and sure step forward in what is, assuredly, the right direction. This fact, in itself and alone, makes the perusal of her pages worthwhile and profitable.

The solid and substantial nature of the research which went into this literary effort is made evident by a quick perusal of various features, including the essay on sources; however, the leading impression made here was not one derived from these excellences but, rather, from the evident desire on the part of the author to present a balanced portrait in depth with the dark lines sketched in with those of a lighter hue and with the whole emerging, as usual, as another triumph of God's grace in the workings of yet another group gathered together for His honor and glory. Catholic historians have long been desiring to see the day when such mature treatments as this would become commonplace and while, at times, they have waited and continued to wait, the present study is a proof that they have not waited entirely in vain. The hour is much too late in scholarly circles to have merely "authorized versions" of religious communities which are frequently hardly more than uncritical paeans of praise for what the mothers general, dead or alive, have done. It is not news, and never has been, that religious superiors lose none of their failings when they become, temporarily and by election, the servants of the servants of God. One may legitimately expect, then, that an occasional mention of the fact that they remain cloaked in imperfect clay, while occupying positions of certain trust and sure dignity, may be recorded in the written accounts of their stewardships. It is not always easy to write thus but, easy or hard, it is necessary if we are to have history instead of pious platitudes which really please none save the already pious and which offend many others not so similarly minded. Thus, for example, it may not have been easy for Sister Mary Generosa to write the results of her careful research into her fifth chapter, "Administrative Problems of the Congregation," but her mature approach makes the truth emerge from her interesting pages and, as usual, it is the truth which sets the reader free. Mother St. Andrew, the American foundress, was involved in serious difficulties of an administrative nature with Bishop Neraz of San Antonio, and it was surely a desire to tell the truth which animated the author in penning these lines: "In her disobedience to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, she openly placed herself in a position of censure . . ." and, again ". . . in her (letter to Neraz) she said nothing of the real source of Neraz' attitude, her unwillingness to submit to diocesan authority. . . ." But, when all has been written and the entire series of dramatic episodes set in proper focus and perspective, there emerges a very inspiring picture of the manner in which Mother St. Andrew, having returned to the house of her religious daughters after having been afar for long, renewed her perpetual vows and lived out her remaining years in the shadow of a much loved sanctuary. This incident should not have been left untold, for it edifies in the best meaning of that abused word and the present reviewer again congratulates the author for having faced up to it and told it so completely and well.

There remains naught but to enter a mild criticism of occasional stylistic mannerisms which, at times, seem to suggest the lack of a deft touch. However, this is not easy to attain in a work of this kind and these occasional climbs on literary stilts in no manner detract from the essential soundness of this volume. Finally, it should be mentioned that the book is well printed and nicely illustrated.

JOHN BERNARD MCGLOIN

University of San Francisco

God's Men of Color. By Albert S. Foley, S.J. (New York: Farrar, Straus & Co. 1955. Pp. x, 322. $4.50.)

". . . the parish folks would gather outside the cathedral after Mass on Sundays and start off their gossip sessions by remarking, 'Glurry be to God, the bishop is a Negro!' " The brogue reveals that these prurient Catholics were not chatting about the immortal (and putatively black) Augustine of Hippo. It is modern American, like Father Foley's interesting book on the seventy-two Negro priests of the United States from 1854 to 1954. The first, Georgia-born James Healy, became a bishop. The object of the foregoing "ultimate" in respectful and loving gossip was spiritual ruler of Maine (1875-1900) and New Hampshire (1875-1885) as Bishop of Portland. Providentially, Negro America's proto-priest was its most successful to date. The colored priests who followed James Healy—including his two brothers, Alexander Sherwood and the Jesuit, Patrick Francis—often needed the exemplary tonic of his "acceptance," for too many people in this nation, which sacrificed blood and lives to the principle of black and white equality, still defy recent Supreme Court decisions insisting upon application.

The influential Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda de Fide, Cardinal Simeoni, revealed Rome's awareness of American inconsistency in a remark made to Father Gus Tolton on the eve of his ordination in 1886 when he said: "America has been called the most enlightened nation; we will see if it deserves that honor. If America has never seen a black priest, it has to see one now. Come and take an oath to spend your whole days in your own country." The recent and unprecedented actions against racial bigotry by two Louisiana prelates barely hint at the personal tragedies involved. Archbishop Cushing's foreword to this book is revealing, therefore, when it states: "Perhaps the best thing I could say [is] . . . I hope no similar book will ever be written again . . . of a struggle against obstacles that never should have arisen . . . the achievement by

heroic souls of a goal that should have been possible without the disappointments and heartaches which they have unfortunately experienced."

The first American colored priests came mostly from underprivileged homes. Even the many still living, whose careers are included in *God's Men of Color,* faced too many rejections by religious communities and southern communities. They met bigoted pressures to which even some bishops bowed or, maybe, shared. Yet they successfully came unto their own and were received by them, validly cited as vindication of papal insistence on a native clergy. Incidentally, Father Foley weakens his treatment and demeans his readers by succumbing too frequently to the temptation to insert pious generalities. Some appear in his own unnecessary panegyrics or eulogies terminating individual sketches. Others simply leap out to smite the unsuspecting, e.g., "She died in 1921 and his Masses for her shortened her brief stay in Purgatory" (p. 77). Outstanding for its description and for the subject's influence is "The Fighting Archbishop's Protege," a sketch of Father Stephen Theobald. John Ireland, who "ruled his archdiocese at the top of his powerful lungs," indelibly stamped his own forthrightly militant liberalism on this intellectual Negro priest who served all races very capably and very fairly.

This volume suffices to link past, present, and future. Very soon, like the priesthood shared by these seventy-two Negroes in the last century, the American scene will brighten, too.

ROBERT H. DUFFY

Duchesne College

The Story of St. Monica's Parish. By George A. Kelly. (New York: Monica Press. 1954. Pp. ix, 154. $1.50.)

As Father Kelly remarks in his introduction, "parochial history too often appears as a dull chronicling of names, dates, and events." He has avoided this pitfall. Remembering that "no man is an island" and that no parish exists in a vacuum, each section gives events of national significance which affected the people. Hours of work, wages, the Knights of Labor, the "new" immigration, panics and depressions, all had their influence on the parish, as did the two world wars. Often a parish history is solely laudatory and actual achievements are magnified. Father Kelly makes clear that many of the pastors had human frailties. One "was so sensitive that criticism upset him and lack of appreciation of his efforts irritated him. . . . He had more curates under him than any other pastor, a change in the rectory occurring each year of his term." The author also questions the enrollment of the parochial school as reported to the *Catholic*

Directory (1,000 in 1918; 1,100 in 1922). "No one interviewed by this writer, priests, sisters or lay teachers, has provided an explanation of where these children sat, given the present structure of the plant and its limited capacity." A possible explanation is offered in that special dancing or singing classes were included to swell the total. The decline in baptisms after 1895 is explained as due to a falling birthrate, or by the change-over of residential areas to commercial and industrial purposes. The drop in confessions heard, and the fact that only fifteen marriages per year are performed in conjunction with a nuptial Mass, are recorded. Any blind optimist will be appalled at the statistics of couples who fail to attend Mass regularly on Sunday, figures which bear out the findings of Brother Dominic Augustine McCaffrey's thesis of 1941. An ostrich-like approach to these sad facts is foreign to Father Kelly.

What of the future? The population is old. There are as many people over fifty-five as there are twenty and under; almost ten percent are over sixty-five. The area has changed racially. Originally an Irish parish, St. Monica's has become cosmopolitan. The lower part of the parish has seventeen percent born in Iron Curtain countries; eight percent are German-born, while six are from the British Isles (chiefly Ireland) and two percent are Italian-born, and there is, moreover, a sprinkling of Puerto Ricans. The south end of the parish, long "lost territory," may be the parochial center of the future.

The tribute paid by the author to the Sisters of Charity and to the Sisters of St. Francis is encouraging. Too often the work of our parochial school teachers is unnoticed and unappreciated. Beyond an obvious typographical error on page 125 and the reversal of footnotes 93 and 94 on page 96, the book seems technically perfect. New Yorkers will enjoy this picture of a typical Manhattan parish, and priests everywhere will have a greater realization of the continuity, yet the diversity, of a city parish when they lay down this book.

BASIL LEO LEE

Manhattan College

GENERAL HISTORY

Nationalism: Myth and Reality. By Boyd C. Shafer. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co. 1955. Pp. x, 319. $5.00.)

Dr. Boyd Shafer, who is managing editor of the *American Historical Review* and executive secretary of the American Historical Association, has risked serious criticism by adding another to the large accumulation

of studies of the development of nationalism, one of the most heavily analyzed phenomena of modern times. However, he has acquitted himself well by writing a moderate, wise, simple, clear, and well organized analysis of this great force. *Nationalism: Myth and Reality* is probably the best single study of this subject available in English. It is a quiet, thoughtful book which raises and answers the important questions and makes the main lines clear. It is written so carefully and clearly and with such judicious fairness and restraint that it is an ideal volume for students or for anyone with a general interest in modern history. While it rests on twenty years of study, the scholarship does not confuse or dazzle. Indeed, the placing of the impressive footnotes in the rear of the volume, an annoying practice becoming all too common, makes reading the volume easy.

At the same time, this is not an original piece of research and it adds little to the scholar's knowledge of this phenomenon. It rests fundamentally on the research of other specialists, which Dr. Shafer freely acknowledges, and it does not extend the frontiers of our knowledge. This is a disappointment because Dr. Shafer emphasizes that he has drawn on psychology, anthropology, and biology. If this is so, there is no evidence that this extension of his sphere as an historian has enabled him to improve upon the work of men such as Hayes and Kohn. Finally, this is fundamentally just a study of nationalism in the West, with especial emphasis upon Germany, France, England, and the United States. In an age when nationalism is racing through the world, this is a remarkably parochial book. For example, there is no mention of nationalism in China or Russia, and neither of these states is even listed in the index. There are numerous examples taken from the French Revolution, but none from the Russian Revolution—or from the other nationalistic revolutions which have swept or are sweeping various parts of the world.

ROBERT F. BYRNES

Indiana University

Debates with Historians. By Pieter Geyl. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhof. 1955. Pp. viii, 241. 12.40 guilders.)

This collection of brilliant essays by one of the most eminent living historians deals with both historiographical problems and with several great nineteenth and twentieth-century writers of history. No short review can do justice to the wealth of knowledge, common sense, and appreciation of the vagaries of human ways displayed by Professor Geyl, nor to his keen critical faculty. What follows is inevitably an oversimplification.

Carlyle is shown to have been a rather direct precursor of the anti-liberal revolutions of the twentieth century, while the cool, detached, conservative Ranke was not. Macaulay is depicted as the epitome of nineteenth-century liberalism; Michelet as the personification of French revolutionary imperialism. Other essays explore the nationalist-Calvinist myth in Dutch historiography, the treatment of Talleyrand by French historians, and various interpretations of the American Civil War. In the last Professor Geyl is critical of writers like the Beards and J. G. Randall who tend to reduce most things to economics and to a rationalist interpretation, respectively, thus obscuring the more important emotional and moral issues involved.

But the author's heaviest artillery is reserved for Arnold Toynbee. His objections (elaborated with undue repetition) to Toynbee's method and conclusions are: 1) history and human affairs are too vast and complex to be reduced to any system or even to be completely understood; 2) Toynbee begins by setting up his scheme and deciding upon his conclusions, and then employs such evidence as he can find to support the edifice; 3) Toynbee's learning is vast and broad, but not deep, thus leading him into fallacious arguments and causing him to draw impossible parallels; 4) finally, what follows from the rest, Toynbee is not a historian at all but a prophet—and a particularly pernicious one because he claims to base his conclusions upon empirical evidence when, in fact, they are *a priori*, a process which promotes intellectual dishonesty. In support of the last, Geyl argues that while Toynbee may be objectively correct in maintaining that God has a design for the world and that a return to Christianity may be the only salvation for mankind, nonetheless, these are not facts deducible from earthly data. While these remarks about *A Study of History* are for the most part justified, Toynbee is treated unfairly in another respect. Toynbee's contention that western culture is in decline is baldly dismissed by Geyl as "a blasphemy against Western Civilization" (p. 178). This amounts to answering an astute critic by saying that his unwelcome opinions are *ipso facto* beneath serious attention.

The volume concludes with a brief essay on historical determinism. The author rightly emphasizes that determinism as a historical method not only flies in the face of ordinary human experience but is filled with terrible dangers for, on the one hand, it encourages the abdication of individual responsibility and, on the other, it spawns fanatics of the worst type, of whom the communists are the best modern example. All told, *Debates with Historians* makes stimulating reading for any practicing or aspiring historian.

BERNARD NORLING

University of Notre Dame

History and Liberty (The Historical Writings of Benedetto Croce). By A. Robert Caponigri. (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co. 1955. Pp. xi, 284. $4.00.)

This is an analytical study which, with great care and in a detailed way, studies the leading ideas of Italy's best known modern historian. It could have been called the work of a loving pupil—had Professor Caponigri ever filled such a position. Every nuance in Croce's development as historian is carefully retraced to its origins. His devotion to the regional story of the old Kingdom of Naples, his queer attitude toward the Baroque age in Italy, as well as his studies devoted to the formative years of European liberalism—all that is discussed in this exhaustive book. A list of the principal relevant works of the Italian historian, a short bibliography concerning his life and achievements, and a glossary of proper names make, beside an index, Caponigri's book a volume useful to every student of nineteenth-century thought.

However, one would expect a critical author of any work on Croce to include in it at least a summary description of his background as well as of his significance in the history of modern irrational thought, above all a brief description of the ties which bound the Italian historian to Rousseau and to Hegel. Rousseau's idea of the goodness of man (as an innate property which excludes the need of God's grace) was directly responsible for the liberal concept of life of man on earth and in history as his only end. Neither the name of Rousseau nor the concept of grace are mentioned in the index of Caponigri's book. Hegel's revival of the ancient Stoic identification of man's intellect with a ray of the Universal Spirit was responsible for the concept of history in which Christ has no place. Caponigri, nevertheless, pays only a less than slight attention to Hegel's share in the birth of liberalism (p. 239). Thus it happens that this work lacks even the most rudimentary critical apparatus with which a believing Christian, nay every rationally thinking man, must arm himself against the pseudo-logic of Croce. And there arises a very persistent doubt as to the merit of the entire work. Will its readers be able to see their way through the maze of Croce's ideas among which so many are as confusing as they are mistaken? Will not the book, after all, rather help to spread the false notions of a man whose voluminous works have brought to its peak the most tragic confusion in modern thought, the confusion between freedom and liberty? On page 191 the reader finds the author's defense against the Crocean distinction between "ultramundane authoritarianism" and "historical libertarianism." This distinction, Caponigri assures us, is subject to modifications. Catholicism, he continues (as if the glad tidings were just another —ism, may be, perhaps, Catholicism as the opposite of Croceism), appears as "the prime mover of the ends of civiliza-

tion, of knowledge, of custom, of political and social policy, of liberty and equality," so that "if the alleged ultramundanism of Catholicism were its ultimate character, this historical affectiveness could not belong to her." Instead, how much more simple it would have been to explain, first, that the so-called ultramundanism is a basic element in the condition of man and that it is nothing else than a quest for freedom (freedom *toward* a positive accomplishment, toward the expansion of man's faculties by the grace of God) and, second, that this quest for freedom is the only (not merely a frequent) mover of the ends of culture (civilization being the result of cultural activity), because only through it man enters the realm of ideas. Liberty, one would have to add, is the exact opposite of freedom. By liberty we mean the possibility of avoiding the presence, or the help, or the influence of someone or something (freedom is basically the freedom to love someone, while liberty is basically the liberty from someone). As we are allowed to avoid the help of God, liberalism denies the notion of grace and, eventually, man's need for God, His presence in history through Jesus Christ, and the fulness of being in Him as the final goal of any cultural effort. As we are not allowed to avoid nature's statistical and biological laws, liberalism finishes by declaring life a "new kind of movement," and intellect the "last step of the evolving matter," i.e., by surrendering history to science (notice the inclusion of history, in the American schools, under the heading of social sciences).

Many a testimony is given, in the pages of Capinigri's book, to the sad flow of old Hegelian mistakes through Croce's works into the thoughts of his followers. To discuss even a few of them, however, would exceed the scope of this review. Let us, therefore, select, for illustration's sake, one of them. In the chapter called the "Spiritual Forces of the Century," Caponigri says: "Liberal Catholics felt the radical incongruity of setting themselves, in the name of their Catholicism, against such concepts as liberty or equality when they saw Catholicism and the Church as the historical seed-bed of these ideals. It was reflected in the official attitude of the Church toward the struggle for a free and united Italy: for the papacy felt strongly drawn toward placing itself at the head of that struggle . . ." (p. 192). Notice how quietly, almost surreptitiously, the reader is led to recognize the political unification of Italy as a movement toward "freedom." What, in fact, destroyed the regional, colorful cultures of Venice, Naples, Rome, Florence, and other independent elements of the Christian commonwealth of nations and made them subject to a highly centralized, almost colorless state, the very first step toward the totalitarian adventure of Mussolini, is tacitly defined here as a positive achievement. Professor Caponigri would probably push aside the suggestion that Austria, Luxemburg, and the greater part of Switzerland should be included in a "free and united Germany." And yet he thinks he must defend the

papacy by affirming that it was "strongly drawn" toward placing itself at the head of a similar but, perhaps, even more nefarious and freedom-denying struggle. It is, indeed, a pity that a work of such deep piety—the piety of a disciple toward his master—has not been built on a sounder philosophical and critical basis.

BOHDAN CHUDOBA

Iona College

MEDIAEVAL HISTORY

Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr. Edited by Kurt Weitzmann, with the assistance of Sirarpie der Nersessian, George H. Forsyth, Jr., Ernst H. Kantorowicz, and Theodor E. Mommsen. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1955. Pp. xiv, 405. 71 Plates. $25.00.)

The subject of this splendid *Festschrift* died on March 23, 1956, at the age of sixty-five. The contents may be summarized as follows:

"Diocletian's Farewell," by A. Bellinger: the coinage struck for Diocletian's abdication assures his subjects of continued peace and presupposes that a notable proportion of them could read. "Adventus Ceremony and Slaying of Pentheus," by H. l'Orange: two floor mosaics of Maximian's palace in Piazza Armerina, Sicily, represent the solemn welcome of an emperor to a city, and the mosaic under St. Peter's, reproduced in *Life* (March 27, 1950), is the slaying of Pentheus, not the hunt of the Amazons. "Gewaltherrscher und Theaterkönig," by A. Alföldi: the stage custom of the tyrant in Greek tragedy, which was also that of the effeminate Sardanapalus and Dionysus in art, copied that of the Persian king and was introduced by Aeschylus to typify all that Athenian democracy opposed and despised. "Transept of Old St. Peter's," by G. Forsyth, Jr., summarizes results of recent excavations and suggests a new solution for the transept as an architectural feature of the basilica. "Julian's 'Reactionary' Ideas on Kingship," by F. Dvornik: Julian believed in the supremacy of law over the ruler, not in the Hellenistic concept. "St. Gregory Nazianzus and the Proper Hymns for Easter," by O. Strunk: the history of the sticheron begins far earlier than has been generally assumed, and the music accompanying paraphrases of Gregory may go back to the sixth century. "St. Gregory of Nyssa and St. Augustine on the Symbolism of the Cross," by G. Ladner: the former sees in it the all-embracing power of God harmonizing the universe, the latter, all-extensive charity, derived from, and taught by, Christ's suffering. "Aponius and Orosius on the Significance of Epiphany," by T. Mommsen: Aponius (fl. c. 410), still regarding it as the Nativity, held that, by a special

dispensation of Providence, January 6, on which the angels announced inner peace to man, was the very day on which Augustus proclaimed outer peace to the world; for Orosius and the Spanish Church, the feast commemorated Christ's baptism, and Orosius, emphasizing the parallels between the universal monarchy of Augustus and the universal religion of Christ, also believed that on January 6 (but before Christ's birth) Augustus declared all war at an end. "Observations on the Cotton Genesis Fragments," by K. Weitzmann, explains how the miniatures will be restored in a forthcoming publication, characterizes their style and the fidelity of various copies, and attributes them to Alexandria not earlier than s. vi. "Some Icons of the Seventh Century," by E. Kitzinger, analyzes the style of three newly discovered pre-Iconoclastic panel paintings and the development in veneration of images suggested by them; an *excursus* deals with the literary sources connected with the history of the one found in Sta. Francesca Romana. "An Ascetic Sect of Iconoclasts in Seventh Century Armenia," by P. Alexander: the heresy was occasioned by the involvement of the Armenian Church in the struggle of Byzantium and Persia, and looked on the image as an unlawful rival of the ascetic. "Hellas in Greek Sources of Sixth, Seventh and Eighth Centuries," by P. Charanis: in all sources, Hellas roughly means the country south of Thermopylae, including the Peloponnesus. "Argument for Iconoclasm as Presented by Iconoclastic Council of 754," by M. Anastos: the Iconoclasts regarded images as a mark of idolatry, maintained that images of Christ implied either Monophysitism or Nestorianism, that the holy Eucharist was the only true image of Christ, and that the only true image of a saint was his holiness imitated and reproduced in the Christian himself. "Dead Christ on Cross in Byzantine Art" by J. Martin argues that the earlier type of the Crucified clothed and living began to yield to the later, Christ naked (except for a loincloth) and dead, in the second half of the ninth century, and that the latter arose as a reaction to the Iconoclastic contention that representation of the God-Man necessarily implied heresy. "A Peculiarity of Slavic Liturgy Found in Greek Euchologies," by A. Strittmatter, O.S.B., proves that the longer litany accompanying the second prayer of the faithful in the Slavic Rite stood originally also in the Greek. "Date of Slav Revolt in Peloponnesus under Romanus I," by R. Jenkins: chronology of military governors of Peloponnesus in 921-922, and Bulgar occupation 922-924. "Constantine the Rhodian: Life and Writings," by G. Downey: a tenth-century scoundrel, who has put all art historians in his debt by leaving them a description of the Church of the Holy Apostles. "Illustrations of Metaphrastian Monologium," by S. Der Nersessian: no cycle, and, possibly, no single illustration was created for this work; the miniatures were taken over apparently from a Synaxarium and not always adapted to changes in the

text. "'Monastic' Psalter of the Walters Art Gallery," by D. Miner: first detailed account of this psalter with marginal illustrations and of its relations to similar manuscripts. "Deisis Mosaic in Kahrie Cami at Istanbul," by P. Underwood: the author's recent uncovering of this mosaic of the Mother of God interceding with her Son proves that it is contemporary with, no earlier than, the other mosaics in the church. "Byzantine Iconography of Presentation and a Latin Religious Pageant," by G. La Piana: the religious pageant, brought to the West by Philip de Mezières but composed in Cyprus, dramatized a Greek miniature cycle. "'Snake-Eating Stag' in the East," by R. Ettinghausen: the belief that a stag (or similar animals) eats snakes, a recurring subject of pictures in the West, may have come ultimately from India. "Carolingian King in Bible of San Paolo fuori le Mura," by E. Kantorowicz: the bible was dedicated to Charles (II) the Bald, not Charles (III) the Fat, probably on the occasion of his marriage to Richildis in 870. "'Dowry Cross' of Henry II," by H. Swarzenski, was made in the St. Denis School in the Reims style and may have formed part of Arnulf's gift to St. Emmeram's in Regensburg in 893. "Virgin in a Mandorla of Light," by A. Grabar: a framed aura of light isolating the figure represents the majesty of God, and the Virgin with Child was so depicted in early Christian art to proclaim her the Mother of God. "School of Miniature Painting in Norman Sicily," by H. Buchtal, establishes the existence of a Latin school of illumination of high quality, analyzes its style, and associates it with Richard Palmer, Archbishop of Messina. "Adam and Eve Cycle in Hortus Deliciarum," by R. Green: a member of the Cotton Genesis recension was available in the Germanic region in the twelfth century to serve as model both for the *Hortus* and Millstatt illustrations. "Renascence of Early Christian Art in XIII Century Venice," by O. Demus: Venice needed a past, so, along with creating an ecclesiastical pre-history and pretending to a *renovatio imperii Christiani*, she archaized in art. "Observations on Duccio's Maestà," by E. De Wald: (1) the new iconography of the Madonna resulted from French Gothic influences and the popular lauds of the Virgin; (2) the innovations in the passion cycle were suggested by the contemporary sacred drama; (3) reconstruction of original arrangement. "S. Niccolò Narratives by Ambrogio Lorenzetti," by G. Rowley, exemplify an early stage in development of his spatial technique. "Facies Illa Rogeri Maximi Pictoris," by E. Panofsky, treats all self-portraits of Roger van der Weyden in connection with proving that one existed in his *Examples of Justice*, copied in the Berne tapestries. "Princeton Pieta," by W. Forsyth, was made in upper Rhineland around 1460 and serves to illustrate German influence on French Gothic art.

The plates are superb. The book is a fine tribute to a fine scholar.

MARTIN J. HIGGINS

The Catholic University of America

An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England. By Peter Hunter Blair. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1956. Pp. xvi, 382. $5.50.)

The author of this volume, a fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and a University Lecturer in Anglo-Saxon Studies, modestly calls his work an introduction. The conciseness with which he treats the history, institutions, and culture of the Anglo-Saxons justifies the title, but his grasp of his subject, his careful scholarship, based on direct study of the sources, and the brilliance of his exposition render his accomplishment far superior to the ordinary introduction. Sixteen beautiful plates and five text-figures give life to Anglo-Saxon chronicles, inscriptions, tapestry, jewelry, architecture, and engineering, while nine excellent maps localize the Anglo-Saxons before and after the invasions and clarify their political and ecclesiastical organization. The first two chapters sketch political developments to 1066. The treatment is brief but clear; the author has judiciously selected only those facts that throw light on his subject, and the reader is not left to struggle through a morass of not particularly pertinent details. The various sources of the invasions are discussed and evaluated, and attention is directed to the role played by geographical factors in aiding the prolonged British resistance and in differentiating the northern and the southern English. The process of unification is masterfully told. The author shows the falsity of the common notion that Scandinavia was remote from England and western Europe before the age of the Vikings and maintains that the invasions of the ninth century were "less the sudden eruption of previously isolated peoples than the culmination of several centuries of steadily widening intercourse with foreign lands."

Chapter III throws light on Anglo-Saxon heathenism and narrates the conversion. The organization of the Church is described and attention is devoted to the character and importance of monasticism, ecclesiastical contributions to architecture, sculpture, and the minor arts, and English missionary work on the continent. The author shows that from 975 to 1066 the state of the Church was far more flourishing than is usually held. Chapter IV is concerned with government. H. M. Chadwick's view of its strongly aristocratic character is criticized, and it is demonstrated that lesser men played a more active role than has hitherto been believed. Chapter V, dealing with economic life, describes the geography of England and the changes in the coast, forests, and fenland since Anglo-Saxon days. The account of English society is cautious and the problems are faced. The author feels that in certain cases the evidence points to some degree of continuing occupancy of Roman town sites. He describes England's close connections with the continent, demonstrating that the concept of insularity was unknown in this period and for long afterwards. The final chapter, "Letters," discusses the development of Old English, the

importance of the Parker Manuscript of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* and the evidence for the survival of Old Norse as a spoken language. After treating of orthography and of the runic and Latin alphabets, there are considered scholarship, schools, libraries, illumination, the significance of chronology and hagiography for historiography, works in prose, and vernacular poetry, with a deep appreciation of the influence of monasticism on education and learning. The bibliography is not extensive, nor is it intended to be; it is a guide toward the chief sources and authoritative modern works, and the author's selection admirably fulfills this end.

ANSELM BIGGS

Belmont Abbey College

English Historical Documents. Volume I, *c. 500-1042.* Edited by Dorothy Whitelock. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1955. Pp. xxiv, 867. $12.80.)

This book is a particularly valuable addition to the distinguished series, English Historical Documents, of which it is the third volume to be published. The nature of the source material makes possible in this case the achievement of the aim set out in the general preface of the series, "to produce a comprehensive corpus of evidence" for the period covered in each volume; and the need for a reliable collection of translated sources is especially evident when much of the original material is in Old English. Miss Whitelock has carried out her task with great learning and great discernment. The general introduction provides a political history of the period with a separate section on "Government and Society" and one on the Church. This is not in itself a particularly vivid or memorable piece of writing, but it does have the great advantage that all the narrative and discussion are closely related to the documents made available in the body of the work. The introduction thus serves to knit together effectively the mass of heterogeneous material presented. It is a good example of a not too common literary form, the introduction that really does introduce the work which follows.

As in the other volumes of the series, there is a general bibliography along with the general introduction, and then the volume is split into sections each of which is equipped with its own introduction and a more specialized bibliography. And, once again, this scholarly apparatus makes the book valuable for the specialist as well as for the general student. Miss Whitelock has divided her book into three main sections. The first is given over to "Secular Narrative Sources" and naturally the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* has pride of place here. The whole chronicle (down to

1040) is printed with variant readings in parallel columns in a form that, it is fairly claimed, "makes it possible to distinguish the central kernel of this record from later and local accretions without resort to laborious collation." This first section also includes a substantial part of Asser's *Life of King Alfred,* a work whose authenticity is strongly upheld by the author.

The second part of the book, "Laws and Charters," is, perhaps, the most valuable. It brings together a considerable volume of material, including some eighty charters, much of which is not easily accessible elsewhere, and certainly not in so convenient a form. This section has a particularly good introduction which discusses technical problems concerning the transmission of laws and the authenticity of charters as well as explaining the relevance of these classes of source material for the historian. Part III is devoted to "Ecclesiastical Sources" and here again there is one work of pre-eminent importance, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History,* represented here by a hundred pages of extracts. There is also a good selection of material from the lives of the saints and a rich selection of letters, including many of St. Boniface and of Alcuin. Three works of Christian poetry are given, including "The Seafarer" in a prose translation that reads well and that should convince the reader of the correctness of Miss Whitelock's own interpretation of the poem—she maintains that its theme is the seafaring hardships voluntarily endured by pilgrims and missionaries. Altogether the book is a masterpiece of sustained and patient erudition.

BRIAN TIERNEY

The Catholic University of America

A History of the Crusades. Volume I, *The First Hundred Years.* Edited by Marshall W. Baldwin. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1955. Pp. xxvi, 694. $12.00.)

This is the first volume of a projected five-volume comprehensive history of the crusades, a brain-child of the late Dana Munro, prepared under the editorship of some of his outstanding students. It gives the background of Europe and the Near East prior to the First Crusade and tells the history of the crusading movement up to 1189. The contents cover the crusades in Spain, developments in Italy and Sicily, the First Crusade from Clermont to Ascalon, the lesser crusade of 1101, the Latin states of the twelfth century, Zengi, Nūr-ad-Dīn, the Second Crusade, and finally the almost complete extinction of Latin power in the East by Saladin.

According to the general editor, Kenneth Setton, the second volume will treat the crusading movement to the beginning of the fourteenth century; the third will cover the "later crusades" from 1300 to 1500; while the fourth and fifth volumes will be concerned with the organization and administration of the crusader states, the political theory which inspired them, the general social conditions in the East, and the relations of the Genoese and Venetian maritime empires with the Latin Kingdom.

This first volume under the editorship of Professor Baldwin is a remarkably excellent piece of work. The editors have achieved a striking success for such a composite work. They have maintained a peculiarly consistent style and have chosen their subject material with a penetration that makes each chapter productive of an essential contribution. Painter, Wheeler, Krueger, Lopez, Runciman, Gibb, Lewis, Cahan, Charanis, Duncalf, Cate, Fink, Nicholson, Berry and editor Baldwin, who prepared the various chapters, are never repetitious and the whole history moves along with definite pace. The sections by Lopez, Duncalf, Berry, and Baldwin are particularly well done, and it is refreshing to find in Duncalf an historian who has a correct notion of plenary indulgences and the nature of the remission of the temporal punishment due to sin, a point so often, yet so unnecessarily, given an erroneous presentation.

Were I to single out a few points for minor criticism in this altogether outstanding piece of scholarship, underwritten so generously by the University of Pennsylvania, I should first point to the lack in many instances of corroborating footnotes. The French practice of listing authorities at the head of each chapter, and avoiding *ad hoc* documentation in the course of it, saves expense but is not helpful to the student. Then the maps which were prepared with such great care and supplemented by a very complete gazetteer are often too small for any really practical use.

In general, however, there is no question as to the excellence of this first volume. If it is any indication of the quality of the four volumes to follow we are well on our way to possessing a definitive, scholarly, and comprehensive study of one of the greatest movements in western history.

JOHN A. KEMP

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Chicago

Monuments of Romanesque Art. The Art of Church Treasures in North-Western Europe. By Hanns Swarzenski. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1955. Pp. 102. 238 Plates. $25.00.)

This work, whose author is a research fellow in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, presents 566 reproductions "of the chief monuments in

ivory, gold, bronze, and enamel, as well as of the manuscript painting of north-western Europe during the period from 800 to 1200." It contains a twenty-six page introduction, an annotated catalogue of the plates with bibliography, and six precious indexes. The subject matter is almost exclusively sacred art, much of it produced, as the author points out, "solely in *majorem gloriam Dei*." Publications on particular groups within these materials exist, e.g., on ivories, bronzes, and illuminated manuscripts. The fine volumes of Francis J. Tschan on St. Bernward of Hildesheim in Publications in Mediaeval Studies of the University of Notre Dame, should be well known to readers of this periodical. But the material was nowhere presented as a whole and as a phase of art history.

Swarzenski deprecates terms like minor arts or decorative arts applied to these materials in the late nineteenth century, whereas they belong with the great arts of their own period: "the gilded statuettes on a book-cover from Trèves are the ancestors of the more than life-size statues of Reims Cathedral." The objects are found largely in church treasures; hence the subtitle of the volume. There are humanistic influences apparent in the art. But it does not seem necessary to look, as Swarzenski does, to the fact that dioceses and monasteries belonged under the feudal system for the explanation of this, when it is obvious that the Renaissance, especially in the Carolingian period, throve in ecclesiastical circles. The author defends St. Bernard of Clairvaux against an unawareness of artistic beauty, but naturally prefers Suger's justification of art in the service of religion. He fails to advert to the difference in ascetic ideals in Cistercianism and Benedictinism, which appears to be a quite adequate explanation of the two attitudes.

The region studied includes Lorraine, the valleys of the Meuse and of the Lower and Middle Rhine, Artois, the Ile-de-France, England, Westphalia, and Lower Saxony, because "the great artistic problems of the Romanesque style were here tackled at an earlier date and more thoroughly comprehended and developed than anywhere else in the West." The author begins by tracing throughout the region the influence of the Reims school in the ninth century with its "impressionistic, sketchy manner of the narrative style" and its Hellenic humanism. He seeks to identify this influence, though not without some diffidence, in the Hildesheim doors and candlesticks. He is sure of that of the Utrecht Psalter, familiar doubtless to some readers, in the De Wald facsimiles. This ninth-century masterpiece of originality from the school of Reims was copied in England in the eleventh century and again in the twelfth and (at Canterbury or St. Bertin) about the beginning of the thirteenth century. Swarzenski presents the exquisite illustration for the end of Psalm 43 from each of the four manuscripts, marking the steps in artistic influence and development in a triumph of visual demonstration. The theme is: "Awake:

Why sleepest thou, Lord? Our fathers have declared to us the work thou hast done in their day. Yet for thy sake we are being slain all the day; we are looked upon as sheep to be slaughtered. Our souls are bowed down to the dust, our bodies are pressed to the earth." In the illustration the Lord reclines on a bed with ministering angels at either side. Below are the fathers with their scrolls. To the left before the temple men of Israel lie prone beseeching the Lord, while at the right the warrior psalmist, divested of sword, quiver, and horn, makes his plea. Below the crenellated walls the enemy ride in furiously, hurling their weapons, while the defenders crowd back through the city gate leaving a fallen comrade or two behind.

Wistfully the author marks the coming of the solid, rigid Romanesque style out of Lorraine and its considerable eclipse of the airy Reims influence in England and at Arras. On the continent he admires the growth of geometrical design which under the influence of Byzantine art and that of Reims welds figures together in abstract unity and eventually produces three-dimensional form. In this development, which neglected "optical and spatial illusion" and reduced "the forms of the human figure to its essential cubic elements," he singles out the work of the goldsmith, Roger of Helmarshausen on the Weser, and sees its influence spread through diocesan and monastic ties to Scandinavia, Poland, and Swabia. With numerous examples from the Stavelot Bible of 1096 he shows how its miniatures influenced great twelfth-century artists in the valley of the Meuse, who worked in metal, using sharp outlines and folds to secure organic appearance of the body, and finally achieved Gothic animation and spirituality of expression in the portrayal of the human countenance.

The introduction is a masterly piece of work, concise, heavy with technical terms, exacting constant effort on the part of the reader in the comparison of facsimiles. The non-Catholic author is full of understanding and sympathy for the usages and traditions of the Church. He had recourse to others for help with his English. Occasionally they failed him in minor points. Thus, a ciborium is described as a container for the Holy Wafer (pp. 17-18). The two angels in Figure 210 are referred to in plural forms as Seraphim and Cherubim (p. 54). "The Three Worthies in the Fiery Furnace" (Figures 346, 368 and pp. 66, 69) are better known under other names. "Cross-foot" on Plate 91 is a transcription from the German, which is rendered better elsewhere in the volume as foot of a cross and base of a cross. "Park's Abbey" (Plate 162 and p. 33) appears correctly on page 67 as Park Abbey. "Boleslav III of Polen" is a slip (p. 59). Under Figure 397 "grape" is used to translate the French *grappe*. The use of "Mosan" in referring to the region along the Meuse seems justified, though it should have been explained. The

word does not as yet appear in English dictionaries, and few people will remember Mosa, the Meuse, from their Latin. Figure 490 should be captioned: Slaying of Thomas Becket rather than "Thomas Becket slain." On page 16, line 15, "is" has been omitted. There are some inconsistencies in spelling, e.g., Reiner and Rainer, casquet and casket. The capitalization in French and German titles is somewhat capricious.

This truly magnificent work deserves to be in every college library for students of history and the fine arts. It is hoped that the author will be inspired to pour out his rich and exact knowledge of mediaeval art in further publications. Faber and Faber have achieved great elegance in the printing and reproductions.

ALOYSIUS K. ZIEGLER

The Catholic University of America

The Thirteenth Century, 1216-1307. By Sir Maurice Powicke. [Oxford History of England edited by G. N. Clark, Volume IV.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1953. Pp. xiv, 829. $8.00.)

This volume by the eminent emeritus regius professor of modern history in the University of Oxford brings nearer completion the projected fourteen-volume Oxford History of England. It is a critical narrative from the pen of a master and reflects throughout the wide learning and deep sympathy with his subject of its genial author. The plan and scope of the book were dictated by the state of knowledge of this period of the reigns of Henry III (d. 1272) and of his son Edward I. The account of the long and troubled reign of King Henry is presented in five chapters and covers ground already studied in detail in the author's earlier work, *Henry III and the Lord Edward* (2 vols., Oxford, 1947). The remaining chapters (VI-XIV), devoted to the agitated reign of Edward I, constitute the longer (pp. 227-719), and in some respects more important, part of the book, since this is a new treatment of this much scrutinized critical period of which no general study had recently been done.

The story opens with the accession of the nine-year-old son of King John in the abbey church of Gloucester on October 28, 1216, at a time when there was no organized government in England, with London and the eastern shires held by the pretender, Louis of France, supported by the rebel barons, and the country torn by civil strife. It closes with the "Years of Emergency" which clouded the end of King Edward's reign and saw the final frustration of his earnest crusade plans, the failure

of his Scottish policy, and his unwilling involvement in war abroad with the King of France and conflict at home with the leaders of the realm both lay and ecclesiastical. From beginning to end it is the growth of a maturing political community in an age of rapid and far-reaching change that holds the center of the moving account. For this is not a history of constitutional and institutional developments told apart from the events and the interplay of personalities, interests, and principles in which these developments were brought about and by which they were so often largely influenced. It is a book filled with people almost bewildering in their profusion and enterprise and among its more memorable pages are the sketches of King Henry (p. 19), of Simon de Montfort (p. 114) and of Robert Grosseteste (pp. 451 ff.), called here "the greatest bishop of the century" (p. 758); and the vivid picture of King Edward, his personality, and his outlook on the world in which he lived (pp. 227 ff.).

Another English historian once wrote that Englishmen, including monastic chroniclers, have seldom had a true notion of the meaning and purpose of the papal monarchy and of the needs of the mediaeval Church-State. However that may be, there is no failure to grasp the reality of the *respublica Christiana* in this history of England during a period when the nation's leaders were responsible and active members of the wider community within the unity of the universal Church. For this reason the book richly merits the attention of the general and church historian as well as of one versed primarily in English domestic affairs.

The ample bibliography (pp. 720-778) is not a conventional list of authorities but a valuable *bibliographie raisonnée* intended to be a guide to further reading. It embraces fields of interest which, given the limitations imposed, could not be treated adequately in the narrative and includes sections on "Ecclesiastical Records, Letters and Wills," "The Church in England" (wherein schools, universities, and learning are considered), "The Social Order," and "Literature and Art."

It is not a pleasant task to criticize editorial details in a volume of such distinction, but some items are to be mentioned. Consistency in proper names, it will readily be recognized, presents peculiar difficulties in this period for writer and reader alike, e.g., the same Dominican provincial is designated William *of* Hotham, Wm. *de* Hotham, and Wm. Hotham. If all three are correct, could not one style have been adopted without prejudice to the others? For the use now of one, now of another, and in some cases of all three styles becomes disconcerting when the names of a dozen more persons are so treated. One also finds Luke and Lucas of Lucca; Roger de Quincy and de Quinci (p. 581); O'Connor and O'Conor (pp. 561, 567); in one place Monteith (p. 580) for Menteith; Benedict (and Benedetto) Gaetani and Caetani; and Tedaldo

Visconti (Gregory X) given Teobaldo in the index. I take it that "Yolande, a daughter of the *court* of Dreux" (p. 597) means *count*.

There are some *errata* among place names: for Cortenuovo (p. 98) read Cortenuova; for Liége (pp. 231, 663 n.) read Liège; for Fontevraud (p. 256 n.), and Fontevrand (p. 268 n.) read Fontevrault; for Rouergne (p. 272) read Rouergue; for Livourne (p. 298) read Libourne, which is not a port on the Gironde (p. 635) but on the Dordogne; for Lectour (p. 302 *bis*) read Lectoure; for Marmand (p. 304) read Marmande. Also for *Monumenta Germaniae Historiae* (p. 731) read *historica*. Correction of these, and of a few other slips in orthography and style, would improve another printing of a book with every title to be a standard work for both specialists and students.

J. Joseph Ryan

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Essays in Medieval Life and Thought. Presented in Honor of Austin Patterson Evans. Edited by John H. Mundy, Richard W. Emery, and Benjamin N. Nelson. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1955. Pp. xviii, 258. $4.00.)

There is scarcely a tribute more worthy of a revered teacher than a book such as this, created out of the selfsame ethical and scientific ideals with which he has imbued his students. The example and teaching of Professor Evans, editor of the Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies, at Columbia University (retired since 1952), have inspired original and valuable contributions to the fund of history in each of the fourteen essays undertaken in his honor. New light is thrown on a number of beclouded or misinterpreted points. Five mediaeval documents are here published and edited for the first time. The essays are grouped under three general headings: Religion and Heresy; Science and Thought; and Institutional and Local History.

Under the first heading we are shown, in an original document edited by the late William Harold May, a sample of mediaeval heresy, illustrating an extreme of heterodoxy of which the Franciscan "spiritual" movement was capable. Albert C. Shannon, O.S.A., overturns a long accepted theory by demonstrating that civil tribunals of the Middle Ages as well as the inquisitorial courts withheld the names of witnesses from the accused. The most imposing contribution in this section, however, is the admirable study by Dayton Phillips on "The Way of Religious Perfection

According to St. Bonaventure's *De Triplici Via.*" Never before, perhaps, has the seraphic doctor's influence in the formation of a more subjective Catholic spirituality been so cogently emphasized. Individual conclusions of the author may be contested; but he must be given credit for that rare and courageous acumen required to sound the depths of Bonaventurian thought.

The section on science offers interesting samples of mediaeval astronomy (Francis L. Benjamin, Jr.) and mathematics (Marshall Claget). Pearle Kibre contributes a helpful study on "Academic Oaths at the University of Paris." In the field of institutional and social history an excellent example of "on-the-spot" research is afforded by John H. Mundy's "Hospitals and Leprosaries in Twelfth—and Early Thirteenth—Century Toulouse." Mr. Mundy, in the spirit of Professor Evans, is extremely cautious about generalizations. He concentrates on the evidence supplied by a particular mediaeval town during a strictly specified period. The reader can easily infer, however, that Toulouse, with its twelve hospitals and seven leprosaries—all the result of corporate or individual charity motivated by intense spiritual idealism—is a striking example of the mediaeval Catholic mind, in the very milieu of religious wars and heresy trials, translating faith into powerful good works.

Although space does not permit an evaluation of each of these essays, they are all worthy of study, and the book as a whole exemplifies historical method of a high calibre.

THADDEUS MACVICAR

Mary Immaculate Friary
Garrison

The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance: Civic Humanism and Republican Liberty in an Age of Classicism and Tyranny. Two Volumes. By Hans Baron. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1955. Pp. xxix, 378; x, 379-656. $10.00.)

This work of exhaustive scholarship gives a penetrating analysis of the interrelation of political and intellectual developments in Italy at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century, when it appeared that Giangaleazzo Visconti of Milan was on the verge of bringing all Italy under his unified control. The importance of Florentine leadership in preserving civic freedom and liberty from Visconti tyranny is the author's theme, and he holds that if Florence had been conquered, becoming a mere provincial town under despotic Milanese rule, the growth of the Italian Renaissance would have been nipped in the bud (pp. 383-384).

Certainly, one must readily admit that the independence of Florence was an important factor in the development of the type of Renaissance which did develop.

The great contribution of this work is the analysis of the impact of the political crisis upon the development of humanistic thought in Florence in the first half of the fifteenth century, showing the emphasis which such works placed upon freedom and opposition to tyranny. Dr. Baron presents many corrections and modifications to interpretations of other historians who have dealt with this period. Against the views of Pasquale Villari and Alessandro Wesselofsky, he makes it clear that an important part of the humanistic movement *was* sympathetic to the Volgare traditions and civic responsibilities (pp. 251-252; 546-547). To emphasize the originality of Leonardo Bruni, his chief witness to the effects of the crisis upon thought after 1402, Dr. Baron points out that Ercole was wrong in thinking that Dante's interpretation of Caesar had been attacked during the fourteenth century (pp. 47; 459-460). By proving that the two *Dialogi ad Petrum Paulum Histrum* were written successively, rather than as one work, the author is able to show that the *Dialogus II* represents an important change from Bruni's earlier militant classicism to civic humanism. And in doing so, he clears up what Vittorio Rossi had considered the "wavering" attitude of Bruni (pp. 217; 533-534). Also, in clarifying the chronology, Dr. Baron makes it clear that Bruni's development of civic humanism came only after the impact of the Visconti wars had been felt. Here, as throughout, the author has demonstrated how fruitful in understanding the Renaissance it is to bring political and cultural history together.

Dr. Baron has done a great service in making it clear that not all the Renaissance was connected with the princes and courtly life; and, surely, we can admire the emphasis upon liberty and freedom which appears in Florentine policy and in the writings of her humanists. But, even Florence must be looked at a bit more critically. After saying so much about Florentine resistance to Milanese aggression, one wonders about the situation when it is the other way around, when Florence conquered Pisa in 1405-1406 (p. 317). Also, we wonder if there is not more to be said for the interpretations of Coluccio Salutati given in the works of Von Martin and in Emerton than Dr. Baron is willing to admit (pp. 134-135; 502-504). Is it not likely that instead of being cut off from the political realities around him (p. 137), that Salutati was thinking more deeply than Bruni, and that there were others in Florence who believed with Salutati that "There is no greater liberty than to obey an *optimus princeps* who gives just commands" (p. 135)?

WALTER W. WILKINSON

Georgetown University

AMERICAN HISTORY

Benjamin Henry Latrobe. By Talbot Hamlin. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1955. Pp. xxxvi, 633. $15.00.)

To review fairly a work of this size in a few hundred words is scarcely possible. This notice will present rather a collection of reactions which may or may not suggest the whole value of Professor Hamlin's contribution. In the first place, seven pages of acknowledgments certainly relieve the author of any suspicion of ingratitude. No book, to this reviewer's knowledge, has ever paid publicly so many literary debts. One imagines that for the first time in publishing history not a single instance of post-publication pique was delivered to the author's door. A second impression relates to the handsome appearance of the work. The quality of the paper, the lavish (almost too lavish) array of illustrations, the convenient location of footnotes, the twenty-six pages of index, the appendix—all testify to the munificence of the publisher and to the substantial price which together furnish such an elegant frame for this portrait of the first American professional architect.

A third reaction was a surprise that a historian of such meticulous pursuit of detail could have failed to inquire into the correct usage relating to matters in the history of the Catholic Church. Professor Hamlin refers, e.g., to William Dubourg as a French Sulpician "monk" who established in 1800 an academy in "connection with the Sulpician monastery in Baltimore" (p. 204). The Sulpician historian Ruane could easily have informed him as to the nature of the Baltimore society, that the Sulpicians are not "monks," and the correct date of the academy's institution. Again, it is unfortunate that he did not check the spelling of Maréchal (p. 512) nor make clear whether he speaks for himself or for Latrobe when on the Sedella affair in New Orleans he says largely, "Dubourg and his superior Archbishop Marischal [*sic*] of Baltimore, feeling the problem was insoluble, took the wise course of doing nothing." Certainly the course of the Dubourg-Sedella relations between 1812 and 1820, the year of Latrobe's death, was complex and difficult to trace; but Professor Hamlin might have been less confused and confusing than he is on pages 512-513.

Hamlin is on safest grounds, of course, when he writes of architectural matters. Professor emeritus in that field at Columbia, he has already written copiously on the subject, and he has pursued assiduously every clue suggesting Latrobe's influence on nineteenth-century architecture east of the Mississippi. Although he has used no new sources on the subject of the Baltimore cathedral, he presents the handiest analysis of Latrobe's connection with the edifice in the crypt of which the first

archbishop lies buried. No student of architecture will fail to acknowledge his debt to this excellent study of Latrobe's true genius. Further, whether he meant to do so or not, the author has in fact written a most intriguing account of the business methods of the early Republic. Although the depressing succession of Latrobe's failures—in Philadelphia, Washington, Pittsburgh, and New Orleans—inevitably raises the question of the business acumen of the architect-engineer, it is interesting to speculate on the successes he might have achieved in another era when American capital was available to men of imagination in larger amounts and on longer, more lenient terms.

In conclusion, this reviewer is still not certain that the man Latrobe quite comes through. This is not to suggest that Professor Hamlin does not commit himself to character analysis. But the reader is carried along on such a high tide of events, blueprints, recriminations, speculations, and consultations that when Latrobe dies suddenly of yellow fever in New Orleans the reader accepts Hamlin's verdict that Latrobe died, "worn out by overwork and by worry" (p. 528). But there is no feeling of regret that a special friend has gone. This may well be, however, a defect in the reviewer rather than a reflection on a notable work that deservedly won the 1956 Pulitzer Prize for biography.

ANNABELLE M. MELVILLE

Bridgewater Teachers College

Netherlanders in America. Dutch Immigration to the United States and Canada, 1789-1950. By Henry S. Lucas. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1955. Pp. xix, 744. $10.00.)

It is difficult to imagine within the limitations of a single volume a more comprehensive view of the migration and settlement of an immigrant people than Professor Lucas presents in his *Netherlanders in America.* In the space of a few hundred pages he covers the history of Dutch immigration to our own day with considerable detail, seemingly not neglecting any of the Dutch settlements and making frequent mention of various families included among the immigrants. Nor does he omit a consideration of the character and contributions of these immigrants.

After a brief treatment of the Netherlanders in colonial America and the sporadic immigration in the early history of the United States, Dr. Lucas devotes the remainder of the first of three general divisions of the book to the "New Immigration" which began in 1846. To substantiate

the statement that the causes of this immigrant movement, although partly social and economic, were predominantly religious, a short account is given of the break with the state-established Reformed Church in Holland led by ministers such as Hendrik Pieter Scholte and Albertus Christiaan Van Raalte, who were to play major roles in the migration of the "Seceders" to North America. Repression of the seceders by the government, with the added circumstance of an economic depression and potato famine in 1845-1846, resulted in the Dutch settlement in Michigan under the leadership of Van Raalte and at Pella in Iowa under Scholte. The Dutch communities in these two areas are given a comparatively extensive treatment, especially that in Michigan which the author considers the most significant of all the Netherlander settlements.

The second general division of the book deals with the development of these early settlements or additional movements into Wisconsin, Minnesota, the Dakotas, Illinois, Canada and even into the Southwest and Pacific Coast areas. In evaluating the extent of this Dutch immigration, its influence and contributions, Professor Lucas is most temperate in his claims—not always an easy task for one who has made such a thorough study of his subject. In the last general division of this work, the causes of immigration are reconsidered and the trials of the immigrant both on voyage and after his arrival in America are described. In addition, consideration is given to various aspects of the immigrant's life—his language, political leanings, literature, and religion. Professor Lucas singles out religion as the most important factor in determining the pattern of the American Dutch settlements. Even after the era of New Immigration, he notes, religion continued to be a cohesive force among those who migrated for exclusively social and economic reasons.

Based on a life-long study of whatever the author could find in print concerning Dutch immigrants, as well as on personal acquaintance with many of the pioneer settlers and considerable formal research, this work is unquestionably a valuable contribution to the history of American immigration. It is to be regretted, however, that in view of the nature and extent of the research a formal bibliography has been omitted. The historian, and even the general reader, would probably prefer also that the notes had accompanied the text instead of a listing by chapters at the end of the book. This is especially true since many of the notes are not simply citations but contain collateral and explanatory material.

ROBERT J. CORNELL

St. Norbert College

Dutch Immigrant Memoirs and Related Writings. Selected and arranged for publication by Henry S. Lucas. Two Volumes. (Assen, Netherlands: Van Gorcum & Co. 1955. Pp. 514, 479. $12.00.)

In 1955 Professor Lucas published his *Netherlanders in America,* a history of Dutch immigration to the United States and Canada from 1789 to 1950, which may well be the definitive study of this small, but important immigrant group. In these two volumes of immigrant memoirs, published recently in Holland (and for sale by the University of Washington Press at Seattle at $15.00), Professor Lucas gives us part of the source material on which his history of Dutch immigration was based. The selections begin with the migration of the van Raalte family in 1846, but they deal not only with the concentration of Hollanders along the east coast of Lake Michigan and in the area between Kalamazoo and Grand Rapids, but also follow the advance of Dutch settlement into Iowa, Illinois, Wisconsin, the Dakotas, Kansas, Nebraska, Virginia, and Long Island. Many of these recollections were prepared for anniversary celebrations of Dutch-American communities; some are from the deposits of the Netherlands Museum of Holland, Michigan; others appeared originally in newspapers, Dutch and English; or in the *Christian Intelligencer,* the official organ of the Reformed Church in America; or in the yearbook of the Christian Reformed Church. A few are from manuscript diaries. Several have already appeared in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* and *Michigan History.*

Needless to say, the selections vary as to value and interest. Some represent the reminiscences of men who wrote when they were ninety years old, and about events that occurred a half-century before. Material of this sort also becomes quite repetitious. Among the most interesting selections are the contributions of several women, letters from the Roman Catholic settlements at Little Chute, Wisconsin, four immigrant biographies, and the autobiographies of two pioneer settlers.

Because other immigrant groups have had somewhat similar experiences, many of these selections cover ground fairly familiar to students of immigration. These memoirs recount the hardships of the Atlantic crossing and the trek inland; the experiences of homesteaders with forest fires, drought and grasshopper plagues; the problems of pioneer farming; the group migrations of pastors with their flocks; the building of churches and schools, and dozens of other activities of "the preservering Hollander" as he established himself in a new land. Perhaps, a distinguishing characteristic of the Dutch was the religious motivation of so many of their settlements and the commanding role of the dominic in their affairs. Despite their old motto, *Eendracht maakt macht,* Dutch immigrants indulged in an unusual amount of religious disputation.

Most of the selections contained in these two volumes appear in the original Dutch and with English translations, although several are given in Dutch only, for no apparent reason. The translations of several others appeared in Lucas' *Ebenezer, 1847-1947,* or in Van Der Zee's *The Hollanders in Iowa,* and readers apparently are expected to look them up there, if necessary. There are no editorial notes. Here again the reader is directed for historical details and clarification to Professor Lucas' new volume on the *Netherlanders in America* or to J. Van Hinte's two-volume *Nederlanders in Amerika.* Professor Lucas is descended from, and was brought up, among these sturdy pioneers and, therefore, has a deep, natural interest in all the details of their lives, but others who are not specialists with an antiquarian interest will probably conclude that these volumes contain too much repetition. Nevertheless, they constitute an important addition to the source material for the history of American immigration. It is regrettable that the proof-reading was not more carefully done.

CARL WITTKE

Western Reserve University

Thomas J. Walsh, a Senator from Montana. By Josephine O'Keane. (Francestown, New Hampshire: Marshall Jones Co. 1955. Pp. 284. $4.00.)

Josephine O'Keane's biography of her late cousin, Senator Walsh, represents a welcome addition to the field of American biography. Although the work is by no means definitive, it presents a graphic picture of Walsh as a national statesman. The materials on his ancestry and youth are voluminous and detailed. However, the analysis of Walsh's early career as a lawyer and politician seems too selective and fails to note his early interest in Montana politics, dating back to the hectic campaign of 1892. In her description of the senator, following his appointment to the United States Senate in 1912, Miss O'Keane describes Walsh's interest in Wilson's "New Freedom," his outstanding reputation as a parliamentarian, his advocacy of the cause of organized labor, and his outspoken support of the idea of the League of Nations.

Understandably, the book dramatizes Walsh's role as chairman of the senatorial committee investigating the Tea Pot Dome and Elk Hills Oil Reserves Scandals. Here Senator Walsh did yeoman work in illustrating the evils of corruption in politics. His stature in the Democratic Party rose correspondingly, and in the 1924 national convention he served as permanent chairman. Further recognition of Walsh's legal talent was

accorded him in Franklin D. Roosevelt's appointment of the Montana senator as his first attorney general. However, death claimed him on March 2, 1933, before he could officially assume his duties.

Miss O'Keane's study portrays Walsh for what he was, a statesman of integrity and strong convictions in an era when neither was too closely heeded nor too highly valued. If only for this reason, the book deserves serious attention. It is characterized throughout by a fine degree of readability. The study's main drawbacks are seen in its lack of documentation, bibliography, and index—tantalizing defects for future scholars who might use the work as a reference. However, in giving the general reader and technical historian an introduction to the life of Thomas J. Walsh, the author is to be commended for a job well done.

THOMAS A. CLINCH

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Helena

NOTES AND COMMENTS

In an article entitled "Five Live Problems for Catholics" in the May 12 issue of *America* the editor-in-chief, Thurston N. Davis, S.J., spoke of the need for Catholic scholars to mingle with colleagues of other religious faiths in their respective academic disciplines. Mention was made of the relatively small number of members of the American Catholic Philosophical Association who were also members of the American Philosophical Association (thirty out of 868). Father Davis then remarked, "Catholic historians and psychologists, I understand, have no such tradition of separation" (p. 159). Prompted by this remark, the secretary of the American Catholic Historical Association checked the latest published membership list of the American Historical Association (September, 1955), to determine how many Catholics were members of both associations. It was found that 278 Catholic historians, or Catholics interested in history, and ten Catholic institutions maintained membership in both groups. It was likewise found that there were thirty-three Catholic institutions and approximately 150 Catholics who were members of the A.H.A., but who held no corresponding membership in the A.C.H.A. In other words, as of September, 1955, there was a total of about 470 Catholic memberships, personal and institutional, among the A.H.A.'s more than 6,000 members.

It may be of further interest to note that among the A.C.H.A.'s membership of 1,022 at the present time there are 111 members of the American hierarchy, sixty-one institutional memberships, and thirty-nine personal members outside the United States.

The International Commission for Ecclesiastical History [cf. REVIEW, XLII (April, 1956), 102-103] has appointed a group of scholars, drawn from many countries, for the purpose of compiling a bibliography on the religious revolution of the sixteenth century. The chairman of the American sub-committee is Raymond W. Albright of the Episcopal Theological School, and those who will serve with him will be Henry G. J. Beck of Immaculate Conception Seminary, Darlington, Harold J. Grimm of Indiana University, Oscar Halecki of Fordham University, and Bard Thompson of Vanderbilt University.

The Knights of Columbus Vatican Film Library at Saint Louis University announced this spring that during 1955 they had increased their holdings by 2,439 rolls to a total of 6,640 rolls representing 8,632,000 manu-

script pages. The principal acquisitions during 1955 were from the Barberini, Borghese, Borgia, Chigi, Palatine, Regina, and Urbino Collections and the Archivio di San Pietro. During the same length of time it was stated that seventy-five scholars used the films for research purposes.

The social science section of the American Benedictine Academy will hold its annual meeting on August 27-30 at St. John's University, Collegeville, and the nearby College of St. Benedict at St. Joseph. Among the items of special interest to historians are the following: Victor Gellhaus and Cletus Kohake, both of St. Benedict's College, will present papers on Abbot Rabanus Maurus of Fulda, the eleventh centennial of whose death is being observed this year. "Benedictines and Catholic Immigrants on the American Frontier" will be treated by Colman J. Barry of St. John's and Peter Beckman of St. Benedict's, who will discuss, respectively, the German settlers on the Minnesota and Kansas frontiers, while "Benedictines among the Czech and Slovak Immigrants" will be the subject of Claude Viktora of St. Procopius College. Under the general heading of "Benedictine Scholarship and the American Indian" there will be three papers by Sister Inez Hilger of the College of St. Benedict, Sister Bernard Coleman of the College of St. Scholastica, and Aloysius Plaisance of St. Bernard's College. Another session will hear a paper on Abbot Suger of St. Denis by Sister Claire Lynch of St. Bede Priory and a second on "Toynbee's Appraisal of Benedictinism and Work" by Sister Agnes Claire Schroll of Mount St. Scholastica College. Bosco Cestello of St. Vincent's College will speak on "Adventure in Research," and the final session will be devoted to a paper by Sister Jeremy Hall of the College of St. Benedict on "The Catholic Teacher and Papal Social Pronouncements."

The ambivalent legacy of imperialism, colonialism, and racial relations emerged as a dominant theme when the American Academy of Political and Social Science presented a program on Africa at its sixtieth annual meeting on April 20-21, 1956. More than 360 delegates attended, representing foreign embassies, states, cities, governmental agencies, over eighty American and foreign colleges and universities, and more than 120 international, civic, scientific, and commercial organizations, including the American Catholic Historical Association, which was represented by Franklin W. Burch of LaSalle College, Philadelphia. Similarly varied were the African backgrounds, interests, and experiences of the seventeen speakers, who during the two-day meeting offered papers treating such subjects as the struggle for control in north Africa and the obstacles, problems,

and prospects for self-government in several states at different stages of development, such as the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Liberia, Ethiopia, and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Africa's significant role in enabling Europe to achieve a measure of peace and security before World War I, its present position in world affairs, and the special relations of the United Nations to the trusteeship areas were reviewed. At the session concerned with "Race Relations in the African South," one of the speakers, the Ambassador of the Union of South Africa, John E. Holloway, discussed his government's policy on *apartheid*. In outlining current American foreign policy in Africa, George V. Allen, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern, South Asian, and African Affairs, stressed the moral obligation resting on the United States to aid underdeveloped areas, and Mrs. Francis P. Bolton, representative to Congress from Ohio and member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, related impressions acquired during her visit to Africa in 1955. All of the papers read at the meeting will be published as the July number of the academy's *Annals*.

The Institute for Study and Research in Mediaeval Canon Law was formally inaugurated at Washington on May 19 with a Mass celebrated by the Most Reverend Bryan J. McEntegart, Rector of the Catholic University of America, and a sermon by the Most Reverend Amleto G. Cicognani, Apostolic Delegate to the United States. After the Mass a reception was held in the foyer of the Mullen Library of the university where an exhibition of mediaeval canonical texts had been assembled for display. A luncheon followed for the institute's officers and out-of-town guests at the Hotel Woodner.

Lecturers at the Mediaeval Institute of the University of Notre Dame during the past academic year included Martin R. P. McGuire of the Catholic University of America who spoke on "Mediaeval Latin: Its Origins and Characteristic Features." Geza B. Grosschmid of Duquesne University who lectured on "The Pageant of Mediaeval Heraldry," and Theodore E. Mommsen of Cornell University who had as his subject "Orosius and St. Augustine."

The Columbia Historical Society of the District of Columbia held its meeting of March 20 at the Catholic University of America. John S. Biddle, O.S.A., of Archbishop Carroll High School, read a paper on the early history of Bladensburg, Maryland, and Henry J. Browne, archivist

of the University, spoke on the materials relating to the history of the federal district which are to be found in the archival and manuscript holdings of that institution.

John E. O'Brien of Seton Hall University delivered a paper on "Edmund Burke and the Preliminaries of Catholic Emancipation" at a centennial convocation of the university held this spring.

In May there appeared, under the auspices of the Historical Society of St. John's College, Brooklyn, the inaugural issue of an attractive new journal for undergraduate majors in history and government. Entitled *Past and Present,* the first number contains, besides a foreword by Carlton J. H. Hayes, seven student essays which center principally around the theme of nationalism, the field of Professor Hayes' specialization. *Past and Present,* which is edited by the students themselves under the direction of Dr. Gaetano Vincitorio, has made a highly commendable beginning. Few means can prove more effective in giving to undergraduates a live interest in history than to furnish them with a dignified medium of publication for their literary efforts. An endeavor of this kind when properly directed will help to cultivate in the minds of students a professional sense even before they embark upon graduate work.

Mid-America for April contained an article by Edward T. Gargan entitled "The Loyola Toynbee Symposium," an account of the two-day conference held on November 18-19, 1955, at Loyola University, Chicago, on the general theme, "The Intent of Toynbee's History."

An attractive illustrated booklet (pp. xv, 122) entitled *Extension in Oregon* by Bishop Francis P. Leipzig, third ordinary of the See of Baker, tells the story of what has been accomplished for the spread of the faith in that state by reason of the generosity of the Catholic Church Extension Society.

Students of mediaeval history will be interested to know that the work of Heinrich Denifle, O.P., and Franz Ehrle, S.J., *Archiv für Literatur—und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters,* originally published in Berlin in 1885-1886, has now been reprinted by Photomechanischer Nachdruck der Akademischen Druck U. Verlagsanstalt (Graz, 1956).

A symposium on the subject, "Christian Humanism and Modern Thought," sponsored by the Catholic Renascence Society, was held at Hunter College on April 2-3.

Among the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Fellows for 1956, announced by the foundation on April 30, are three mediaevalists who are members of the Association: Stephan Kuttner, professor of the history of canon law in the Catholic University of America, for studies in mediaeval canon law; J. Joseph Ryan, Jr., professor of church history in St. John's Seminary, Brighton, for investigation of the historical origins of the eleventh-century Gregorian Reform movement; and Brian Tierney, assistant professor of history in the Catholic University of America, (renewal) for studies of ecclesiastical law concerning the relief of poverty in the Middle Ages.

Louis J. Lekai, S.O. Cist., associate professor of history in the University of Dallas, whose most recent article appears in the present number of the REVIEW, has been given a grant by the American Philosophical Society for the continuation of his research in the seventeenth-century history of the Cistercian Order.

Jean L. Comhaire of the Department of Social Studies at Seton Hall University has been granted a leave of absence for a year to pursue research in Haiti.

The Peter Guilday History Prize has been established in the Department of History of the Catholic University of America as an award for the best M.A. dissertation presented in the department each year. The prize of $100.00 is named in honor of Monsignor Guilday, for many years a professor in the department, one of the founders of this REVIEW, and the principal founder of the American Catholic Historical Association. The dissertation of Mother Maria Caritas McCarthy, S.H.C.J., on "The Rule for Nuns of St. Caesarins of Arles" was awarded the prize this year.

Sister Mary Justine Peter, O.S.F., a candidate for the Ph.D. degree at Loyola University, Chicago, has been granted a Fulbright Scholarship for study at the Institute of Historical Research of the University of

London where she will pursue an investigation on the relations of the crown with the members of the House of Commons in the parliament of 1529-1536.

Edward P. Colbert, graduate student in the Department of History of the Catholic University of America, has been named to a fellowship for study in Spain during the next school year.

Philip Hughes of the University of Notre Dame has recently been made the recipient of two honorary degrees, one from the Catholic University of Louvain and the other from the National University of Ireland.

Stephan Kuttner, professor of the history of canon law in the Catholic University of America, was made a fellow of the Mediaeval Academy of America at the annual meeting in Cambridge on April 28.

Paul S. Lietz, chairman of the Department of History in Loyola University, Chicago, was honored by his colleagues at a dinner on May 16 to commemorate his twenty-five years of service at Loyola.

Professor Friedrich Engel-Janosi of the Catholic University of America will serve as visiting lecturer at the Johns Hopkins University during the first semester of the coming academic year. He will give a one-hour course in modern historiography.

William O. Shanahan, professor of history in the University of Notre Dame, is a visiting professor in the current summer session at Cornell University.

Duane Koenig of the University of Miami has been promoted to the rank of full professor of history.

At the opening of the coming academic year Wallace K. Ferguson of New York University will assume the headship of the Department of

History in the University of Western Ontario where he will also hold the J. C. Smallman professorship of history. Professor Ferguson is well known to many of the members of our Association for his scholarly studies on the Renaissance, one of the most recent of which was his fine article, "The Church in a Changing World: A Contribution to the Interpretation of the Renaissance," in the October, 1953, issue of the *American Historical Review.*

David H. Burton has been appointed assistant professor of history in St. Joseph's College, Philadelphia, for the coming year. After receiving his doctorate at Georgetown University in 1953, Dr. Burton taught for a time at Duquesne University.

Henry L. Walsh, S.J., retired professor of history in the University of Santa Clara, died on May 13 at the age of seventy-six. Father Walsh was the author of *Hallowed Were the Gold Dust Trails. The Story of the Pioneer Priests of Northern California* (Santa Clara, 1946) which constituted a history of the early years of the present Diocese of Sacramento. At the time of his death he had about completed a manuscript on the history of the University of Santa Clara.

The United States Civil Service Commission has announced an examination for historian for filling positions paying from $5,440 to $11,610 a year in various federal agencies in the Washington, D. C., area. Positions overseas may also be filled. The following optional fields are included in this examination: national defense, agriculture, diplomatic, national park, museum, and general. No written test is required. To qualify, applicants must have had appropriate experience which included specialized experience in one of the optional fields. Provision is made for the substitution of appropriate college study for part of the experience. Experience in teaching college-level courses in the social sciences or the humanities will be accepted as professional experience in these fields.

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Diplomatic Reversal: Frelinghuysen's Opposition to Blaine's Pan-American Policy in 1882. Russell H. Bastert (*ibid.*).

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Young F. D. R. and the Moral Crusaders. Alfred B. Rollins, Jr. (*New York History,* Jan., 1956).

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The San Buenaventura, Mythical River of the West. C. Gregory Cramption and Gloria G. Griffen (*Pacific Hist. Rev.*, May, 1956).

The Benedictines of Logan County. Helen Duerr (*Arkansas Histor. Quart.*, Winter, 1955).

American Diplomacy: The Case for "Amateurism." Seymour J. Rubin (*Yale Rev.*, Spring, 1956).

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L'érection du diocèse de Québec et l'opposition de l'archevêque de Rouen, 1662-1674. Wilfrid H. Paradis (*Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique française*, Mar., 1956).

Établissement du séminaire royal pour les missions d'Amérique. Honorius Provost (*ibid.*).

Essai d'interprétation de la signature de Christophe Colomb. Louis Philippe May (*ibid.*).

Inventaire critique des notaires royaux des gouvernements de Québec, Montréal et Trois-Rivières (1663-1765). André Vachon (*ibid.*).

Saint Antoine Daniel, martyr canadien. Fernand Potvin (*ibid.*).

Les Relations France-Canada après la Conquête. Gustave Lanctôt (*La Revue de l'Université Laval*, Mar., 1956)

Chapleau and the Conservative Party in Quebec. H. Blair Neatby and John T. Saywell (*Canadian Histor. Rev.*, Mar., 1956).

The Settlement of the Clergy Reserves, 1840-1855. John Moir (*ibid.*).

Mission San Marcelo del Sonoydag. Ronald L. Ives (*Records of the Amer. Catholic Histor. Soc. of Phila.*, Dec., 1955).

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Fray Marcos de Niza, Coronado and the Yavapai. Albert H. Schroeder (*New Mexico Histor. Rev.*, Jan.).

Llamamiento general, repartimiento, and the Empire of Acolhuacan. Charles Gibson (*Hispanic Amer. Histor. Rev.*, Feb., 1956).

The Historiography of the Spanish-American Revolutions. R. A. Humphreys (*ibid.*).

The Ordenanza del Patronazgo, 1574: An Interpretative Essay. Robert Charles Padden (*Americas*, Apr., 1956).

Las Casas, Historian of Christopher Columbus. Emiliano Jos (*ibid.*).

The Land, People, and Problems of America in Eighteenth-Century Spanish Literature. Anthony Tudisco (*ibid.*).

The Mexican Agricultural Society, 1879-1914. William H. Dusenberry (*ibid.*).

La acción de los franciscanos en Nuevo México. M. C. Aguirre (*Missionalia Hispanica*, Año XII, 1955).

Un problema de historia misional hispanoamericana. Hipólito Sancho de Sopranis (*ibid.*).

A South American Revolutionary: Manuel Belgrano. Otto S. Marx (*Histor. Bulletin*, May, 1956).

Writings in United States Church History, 1955. E. R. Vollmar (*ibid.*).

La Iglesia en América. La cuestión del clero indigena en la época colonial. Juan Alvarez Mejia (*Revista Javeriana*, Mar., 1956).

La crisis político-religiosa en la Argentina. (*Razón y Fe*, Sept.-Oct., 1955).

BOOKS RECEIVED

Anderson, Arthur J., and Charles E. Dibble. (Trans. and Eds.). *Florentine Codex. General History of the Things of New Spain* by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún. *Book 12—The Conquest of Mexico.* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press. 1956. Pp. 122. $6.50) With this volume the translators and editors have reached the half-way mark in their English version of Sahagún's great work. Like its predecessors, it has been handsomely produced. The text is arranged in two columns to the page with Aztec and English paralleling each other. The book is Number 14, Part XIII of the School of American Research at Santa Fe, New Mexico, which is also one of the publishers.

Andrewes, A. *The Greek Tyrants.* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., Inc. 1956. Pp. 164. $1.80.) A volume in Hutchinson's University Library by the Wykeham professor of ancient history in the University of Oxford.

Ball, Margaret M., and Hugh B. Killough. *International Relations.* (New York: Ronald Press Co. 1956. Pp. viii, 667. $6.50.)

Barker, Ernest. *From Alexander To Constantine. Passages and Documents Illustrating the History of Social and Political Ideas 336 B.C.-A.D. 377.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. xxiv, 505. $8.00.)

Bartholomew, Paul C. *American Government Under the Constitution.* (Dubuque: Wm. C. Brown Co. 1956. Pp. xii, 342. $3.75.) The third revised edition of a text by a professor of political science in the University of Notre Dame.

Becker, Karl, and Maria Peter. (Comps. and Eds.). *Our Father.* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co. 1956. Pp. 334. $4.50.) This volume, sub-titled *A Handbook for Meditation,* has been translated from the German by Ruth Mary Bethell.

Beik, Paul H. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society. The French Revolution Seen From the Right.* (Pennsylvania: Lancaster Press, Inc. 1956. Pp. 122. $2.00.)

Bemis, Samuel Flagg. *John Quincy Adams and the Union.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1956. Pp. xv, 546, xix. $8.75.)

Benson, Robert Hugh. *Richard Raynal, Solitary.* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co. 1956. Pp. xvii, 161. $3.50.) This story was first published in 1905. Evelyn Waugh writes an introduction to the new edition and Valeati Angelo has supplied the illustrations.

Brassard, Brother Gerard, A.A. *Armorial of the American Hierarchy.* Vol. III. *The New England States.* (Worcester: Assumption College. 1956. Pp. xii, 149.)

Brown, Robert E. *Charles Beard and the Constitution. A Critical Analysis of "An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution."* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1956. Pp. 219. $3.50.) In this book Professor Brown of Michigan State University endeavors to answer such questions as: did Beard use a reasonable proportion of the available source material? Was he critical of the evidence he found? Did his conclusions follow logically from the evidence?

Calvocoressi, Peter. *Survey of International Affairs 1953.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. viii, 400. $7.70.)

Carmody, Francis J. *Arabic Astronomical and Astrological Sciences in Latin Translation. A Critical Bibliography.* (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1956. Pp. vi, 193. $2.75.) A valuable bibliography which coordinates the existing known materials, with critical judgment on contents, incipits,

manuscripts, and editions, covering the Latin versions of the famous Arabic scientists from the ninth to the fourteenth centuries.

Churchill, Sir Winston S. *A History of the English Speaking Peoples.* Volume I: *The Birth of Britain.* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. 1956. Pp. xxii, 521. $6.00.) Sir Winston's book is vigorous in narrative, very shrewd in characterization, and generally abreast of current scholarship. The only serious weakness is a certain lack of sympathy and insight in the sections on the mediaeval Church.

Clarke, M. L. *The Roman Mind. Studies in the History of Thought from Cicero to Marcus Aurelius.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1956. Pp. viii, 168. $3.75.)

Colsen, Door J., C.M. *Poels.* (Roermond-Maaseik: J. J. Romen & Zonen, 1955. Pp. 680. f19.50.)

Combes, André. *La Bienheureuse Thérèse Couderc. Fondatrice du Cénacle.* (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel. 1956. Pp. 398. $2.80.)

Conover, Helen F. *Introduction to Europe. Supplement, 1950-1955.* (Washington: Library of Congress. 1955. Pp. 181. $1.00.) Introduction to Europe, prepared by the former European Affairs Division of the Library of Congress in 1950, was a bibliographic survey to suggest background reading on European countries, designed to provide a rounded acquaintance with the area and its problems.

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Curti, Merle. *American Paradox. The Conflict of Thought and Action.* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1956. Pp. x, 116. $2.75.)

Cushing, Richard J. (compiled by George L. Kane). *That They May Know Thee. Selected Writings on Vocations.* (Westminster: Newman Press. 1955. Pp. viii, 217. $3.00.)

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Donnan, Elizabeth, and Leo F. Stock (Eds.). *An Historian's World. Selections from the Correspondence of John Franklin Jameson.* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society. 1956. Pp. xi, 382. $6.00.)

Dupeyrat, André. *Festive Papua.* (New York: John de Graff, Inc. 1956. Pp. 162. $2.75.) This volume by Father Dupeyrat deals with the Fuyughés people of Papua who are studied through their Gabé or the Great Dance. The book has been translated by Erik de Mauny.

Eisenstadt, A. S. *Charles McLean Andrews. A Study in American Historical Writing.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1956. Pp. xx, 273. $5.00.)

Farrow, John. *Pageant of the Popes.* (St. Paul: Catechetical Guild Educational Society. 1956. Pp. 464. $.50.)

Finer, Herman. *Governments of Greater European Powers.* (New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1956. Pp. xii, 931, xciv. $6.95.)

Firkel, Eva. *Woman in the Modern World.* (Chicago: Fides Publishers Association. 1956. Pp. x, 211. $3.50.)

Franzero, Carlo Maria. *The Life and Times of Nero.* (New York: Philosophical Library, Inc. 1956. Pp. 334. $4.75.) A vivid but in part fictionalized biography of Nero which tends to whitewash that emperor; as history, not to be compared with the well-known work of B. W. Henderson.

Gabriel, Ralph Henry. *The Course of American Democratic Thought.* (New York: Ronald Press Co. 1956. Pp. xiv, 508. $6.00.) The second edition of a work that appeared in 1940. It is stated that Chapter 2 has been revised, and beginning with William James it "has been largely rewritten and greatly enlarged. . . ."

Gardeil, H. D., O.P. *Introduction to the Philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas.* III. *Psychology.* Translated by John A. Otto. (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1956. Pp. xiii, 303. $4.00.)

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Hay, Denys. *From Roman Empire to Renaissance Europe.* (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc. 1956. Pp. 240. $1.65.) A short, but well-balanced and generally reliable little work. There is a short reading list at the end.

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Johnston, Ruby F. *The Religion of Negro Protestants. Changing Religious Attitudes and Practices.* (New York: Philosophical Library. 1956. Pp. xxvi, 224. $3.00.)

Kelso, Ruth. *The Doctrine For the Lady of the Renaissance.* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1956. Pp. xi, 475. $6.50.)

Kirk, Russell. *Beyond the Dreams of Avarice.* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co. 1956. Pp. x, 339. $4.50.)

Klingberg, Frank J. *The Carolina Chronicle of Dr. Francis Le Jau, 1706-1717.* (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1956. Pp. 220. $3.50.)

Les techniques de diffusion dans la civilisation contemporaine (presse, radio, cinema, television). (Paris: Chronique sociale de France, 1955. Pp. 414. $3.15.) A volume of proceedings of the forty-second semaine sociale held at Nancy in 1955.

Luckyj, George S. N. *Literary Politics in the Soviet Ukraine: 1917-1934.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1956. Pp. x, 323. $5.00.)

May, Arthur J. *A History of Civilization. The Story of Our Heritage.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1956. Pp. xii, 863.)

Maynard, Theodore. *St. Ignatius and the Jesuits.* (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1956. Pp. 213. $3.00.)

Maynard, Theodore. *The Life of Thomas Cranmer.* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co. 1956. Pp. xii, 242. $4.50.)

Metzger, Henri. *St. Paul's Journeys in the Greek Orient.* [Studies in Biblical Archeology, No. 4.] (New York: Philosophical Library, Inc. 1955. Pp. 75. $2.75.) This series, noticed before in Books Received, continues its high quality with Metzger's booklet, which describes the geographical and archeological aspects (four maps and twelve illustrations) of St. Paul's famous journeys.

Michael, Franz H., and George E. Taylor. *The Far East in the Modern World.* (New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1956. Pp. x, 724. $6.95.)

Mills, Lennox A., and Charles H. McLaughlin. *World Politics in Transition.* (New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1956. Pp. x, 757. $6.50.)

Mischke, Bernard C., O.S.C. *Odilia.* (Onamia: National Shrine of St. Odilia, Minnesota. 1955. Pp. 163. $2.00.)

Murray, Robert K. *Red Scare.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1955. Pp. 337. $4.75.)

Nettl, Paul. *Beethoven Encyclopedia.* (New York: Philosophical Library, Inc. 1956. Pp. 325. $6.00.) This volume is by the professor of musicology in Indiana University.

Nichols, James Hastings. *History of Christianity, 1650-1950. Secularization of the West.* (New York: Ronald Press Co. 1956. Pp. vi, 493. $5.00.)

Nugent, Elizabeth M. *The Thought and Culture of The English Renaissance.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1956. Pp. xix, 703. $7.50.)

O'Connell, J. B. *Church Building and Furnishing: The Church's Way. A Study in Liturgical Law.* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 1956. Pp. xxiii, 264. $5.50.) This new volume in Notre Dame's Liturgical Studies was originally the subject of Father O'Connell's lectures in the summer session of 1954 at Notre Dame. In addition to the text there are forty-four illustrations.

Oliver, John W. *History of American Technology.* (New York: Ronald Press Co. 1956. Pp. viii, 676. $6.50.) A volume by the emeritus professor of history in the University of Pittsburgh.

O'Neill, James M. *The Catholic in Secular Education.* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1956. Pp. xix, 172. $3.50.) A realistic and intelligent discussion in eight brief chapters of the problems surrounding the attendance of Catholics at secular schools by a devout Catholic who speaks from the experience of more than a half century as student and professor in secular institutions. The introduction has been written by President George N. Shuster of Hunter College.

Parkman, Francis. *The Discovery of the Great West: La Salle* (Rinehart Editions). (New York: Rinehart & Co., Inc., 1956. Pp. xxiii, 354. $1.45.)

Parrot, André. *Nineveth and The Old Testament.* (New York: Philosophical Library. 1955. Pp. 95. $2.75.) This volume is, perhaps, the best in this brilliant series of popular archaeology; it is ideal for teachers of ancient history and illuminating for cultured readers with other interests.

Parsons, James J. *San Andrés and Providencia, English-Speaking Island in the Western Caribbean.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1956. Pp. 83. $1.50.) This volume is one of the University of California's Publications in Geography.

Pastorino, Agostino. *De errore profanarum religionum.* (Firenze: La Nuova Italia Editrice. 1956. Pp. lxxvi, 294. L. 3,000.)

Pegg, Carl H. *Contemporary Europe in World Politics.* (New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1956. Pp. x, 692. $6.95.)

Phelan, John Leddy. *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World. A Study of the Writings of Gerónimo de Mendieta (1525-1604).* (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1956. Pp. 159. $3.00.)

Philips, Monsignor Gerard. *The Role of the Laity in the Church.* (Chicago: Fides Publishers Association. 1956. Pp. 175. $3.25.) This volume contains ten theological essays by the professor of dogmatic theology in the Catholic University of Louvain and has been translated by seminarians of the American College, Louvain.

Plé, A., O.P. *Mystery and Mysticism.* (New York: Philosophical Library. 1956. Pp. 137. $4.75.)

Preveden, Francis R. *A History of the Croatian People.* Vol. I. *Prehistory and Early Period until 1397 A. D.* (New York: Philosophical Library. 1956. Pp. xvi, 134, 64 plates. $7.50.)

Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society at the Annual Meeting Held in Worcester October 19, 1955. (Worcester: Published by the Society. 1956. Pp. 105-268, xxvi.) Readers of the REVIEW will find of special interest in this volume the well-documented article of James W. Foster on "Fielding Lucas, Jr., Early 19th century Publisher of Fine Books and Maps" (pp. 161-212) because of Lucas' connections with the Baltimore Catholic community and his firm's publication of Catholic books.

Rahner, Hugo, S.J. *Ignatius Von Loyola. Briefwechsel mit Frauen.* (Freiburg in Breisgau: Verlag Herder. 1956. Pp. xxiii, 648. 33.—D.M.)

Rigney, Harold W., S.V.D. *Four Years in a Red Hell. The Story of Father Rigney.* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co. 1956. Pp. 222. $3.00.) Father Rigney (a Ph.D. in geology from the University of Chicago) here tells his grim tale of four years of imprisonment at the hands of the Chinese Communists. He had served only a brief time as rector of the Fu Jen Catholic University in Peiping before his arrest. His liberation came in mid-September, 1955.

Royer, Franchón. *The Power of Little Children.* (Fresno: Academy Library Guild. 1954. Pp. 112. $1.75.)

Runciman, Steven. *The Eastern Schism. A Study of the Papacy and the Eastern Churches during the XIth and XIIth Centuries.* (London: Oxford University Press. 1955. Pp. viii, 189. 21s. net.)

Saltman, Avrom. *Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury.* (New York: John de Graff, Inc. 1956. Pp. 594. $8.00.)

Sartre, Jean-Paul. *Being and Nothingness. An Essay on Phenomenological Ontology.* (New York: Philosophical Library. 1956. Pp. lxix, 638. $10.00.) Translated and with an introduction by Hazel E. Barnes of the University of Colorado.

Shipton, Clifford K. *Biographical Sketches of Those Who Attended Harvard College in the Classes, 1731-1735.* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society. 1955. Pp. 659. $7.50.) This Volume IX of Sibley's Harvard Graduates has been done with the same scholarship, editorial care, and elegance of dress that characterized the preceding volumes in the series.

Smith, E. Baldwin. *Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. Pp. x, 219. $7.50.)

Stevenson, R. Scott. *In Search of Spanish Painting.* (New York: Philosophical Library. 1956. Pp. 232. $6.00.) The story of a journey through many places to seek out Spanish paintings with drawings by the author and twelve plates.

Stroupe, Henry Smith. *The Religious Press in the South Atlantic States, 1802-1865.* (Durham: Duke University Press. 1956. Pp. viii, 172. $4.50.)